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THE CULTURE OF ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

FIG. 1. STATUE OF A GODDESS
Berlin. From *Antike Denkmäler*, iii, Plate 41.
[See p. 177.]

THE CULTURE OF ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

A GENERAL SKETCH

BY

F. POLAND E. REISINGER AND
R. WAGNER

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION
FROM THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION (1924)
BY

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FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE German original[1] from which the present translation has been made is based upon a larger, copiously illustrated work in two volumes,[2] suggested and published by the well-known firm of Messrs Teubner (Leipzig and Berlin). This went out of print, and, a new edition being considered impracticable at the time, it was decided to reissue it (1921) in a smaller compass and in a form adapted to the requirements of the public schools and the general reader, which might at the same time not be without interest to the classical student. Within three years a second edition became necessary. In this a limited number of not unimportant additions and alterations was made, including a full index. Considering the restricted space at the disposal of the authors in this connexion, and the desire of the publishers not materially to increase the size and, consequently, the price of the book, it may be said that it admirably fulfils the purpose which they had in view. While it contains a large amount of information in a clear and concise form, the sections on Greek Literature, Religion, Private Life, Art and Architecture will perhaps be found the most interesting, while the numerous illustrations should prove an agreeable aid to the understanding of the text. Notice has also been taken of the latest discoveries (Priene, papyri, Sappho, Sophocles), and the whole may fairly be considered up to date.

The Bibliography and Glossary of Architectural Terms, which it is hoped may be found useful, have been added by the translator, who will consider himself well repaid if the work in its English dress is as favourably received as its original has been.

J. H. F.

[1] *Die antike Kultur in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt*, by F. Poland, E. Reisinger, R. Wagner (2nd edn., 1924).

[2] F. Baumgarten, F. Poland, R. Wagner, *Die hellenische Kultur* (3rd edn., 1913), and *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (1913).

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CONTENTS

I. LITERATURE (R. Wagner)

PAGE

(*A*) BOOKS 17

(*B*) THE GREEK LANGUAGE 18

(*C*) GREEK LITERATURE 19

EPIC POETRY 20

Homer. The Homeric Question. The *Iliad*. The *Odyssey*. The Art of Epic Poetry. The Later Influence of Homer 20

The Epic Cycle 28

The Homeric World. Religion and View of Life. State and Society. The House. Clothing and Food. Military Affairs. Navigation 29

Hesiod 38

LYRIC POETRY 39

Elegy and Epigram: Callinus; Tyrtaeus; Solon; Theognis; Mimnermus. The Epigram. *Iambic Poetry:* Archilochus; Hipponax. *Melic Poetry:* Scolia; Alcaeus; Sappho; Anacreon. *The Choral Lyric:* Arion; Ibycus; Stesichorus; Simonides; Bacchylides; Pindar 39

THE DRAMA 42

Tragedy. Thespis. Phrynichus. Aeschylus (*The Persians*; *Prometheus Bound*; *The Oresteia—Agamemnon, Choephori, Eumenides*). Sophocles (*King Oedipus*; *Oedipus at Colonus*; *Antigone*; *Ajax*; *Philoctetes*; *Electra*; *The Trachinian Women*; *The Trackers*). Euripides (*Medea*; *Hippolytus*; *Iphigeneia at Aulis*; *Iphigeneia in Tauris*) 43

The Old Comedy. Epicharmus. Aristophanes (*The Knights*; *The Clouds*; *The Wasps*; *The Peace*; *The Birds*; *The Frogs*) 49

The Stage (F. Poland). The Dionysia. External Conditions. Structural Plan of the Theatre. The Actors. The Roman Theatre 51

HISTORIOGRAPHY 56

The Logographers. Hecataeus. Hellanicus. Herodotus. Thucydides. Xenophon (*Anabasis*; *Hellenica*; *Cyropaedeia*; *Memorabilia*). Ephorus 56

RHETORIC AND ORATORY 61

Their Beginnings. Division of the Speech. Rhetoric. Gorgias. Isocrates. The Ten Attic Orators. Lysias. Demosthenes: his Life; *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs*; *On the Peace*; *On the Crown*. Aeschines 61

THE LITERATURE OF HELLENISM 68

General Survey. Hellenistic Poetry. Elegy. Callimachus. Epigram. Epos. Pastoral Poetry of Theocritus. The *Mimiambi* of Herondas. The New Comedy. Menander. Hellenistic Prose Composition. Rhetoric. Historical Works. Polybius. Poseidonius. Dicaearchus. Local History. Pausanias. Entertaining Literature 68

PAGE

(*D*) THE LATIN LANGUAGE 75

Characteristics. Cultural Importance. The Popular Language 75

(*E*) ROMAN LITERATURE 76

THE LITERATURE OF THE OLDER REPUBLIC 76

Roman National Beginnings. The Law of the Twelve Tables. Historical Records. Speeches. Saturnian Verse. The Influence of the Greeks. Livius Andronicus. Naevius. Ennius 76

Tragedy and Comedy. Plautus (*Miles Gloriosus*; *Menaechmi*; *Aulularia*; *Trinummus*; *Captivi*). Terence (*Hautontimorumenos*; *Adelphi*; *Phormio*). Roman National Comedy 78

Historiography and Oratory. Fabius Pictor. The Annalists. Cato. The Older Orators 81

The Ciceronian and Augustan Ages. Introduction. Cicero: his Life and Character; his Speeches and Orations; his Rhetorical and Philosophical Writings; Letters; his Importance. Caesar (*Gallic War*; *Civil War*). Sallust (*Catiline*; *Jugurthine War*). Cornelius Nepos. Livy. Diodorus Siculus. Lucretius. Virgil (*Bucolics*; *Georgics*; *Aeneid*). Catullus. Horace (*Epodes*; *Odes*; *Satires*; *Epistles*). Elegiac Poets: Tibullus; Propertius; Ovid (*Amores*; *Heroides*; *Ars Amatoria*; *Metamorphoses*; *Fasti*; *Tristia*; *Letters from Pontus*) 82

(*F*) GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD 96

Introduction. Its Influence on the Culture of the West 96

POETRY 97

Satire: Persius; Juvenal; Petronius; Apuleius. *Epigram:* Martial. *Tragedy:* Seneca. *Fable:* Phaedrus; Babrius. Ausonius 97

PROSE 98

Tacitus: *Dialogus*; *Agricola*; *Germania*; *Histories*; *Annals*. Other Historians: Josephus; Suetonius; Plutarch; Curtius Rufus; Arrian. Silver Latinity: Seneca's prose-works; Quintilian; Pliny the Younger; Pliny the Elder. Archaism and Atticism. Lucian 98

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE 103

The Gospels. Revelation. Paul. Fathers of the Church. Augustine. Christian Poetry 103

II. PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE (R. WAGNER)

(*A*) PHILOSOPHY 106

The Ionic Natural Philosophers: Thales; Anaximenes; Anaximander; Pythagoras; the Eleatics; Heracleitus; Empedocles; Anaxagoras; Democritus. The Sophists: Protagoras; Gorgias; Prodicus; Hippias. Socrates: his Personality and Teaching. Plato: Life; Theory of Ideas; Soul; State; his Writings; his Importance for Posterity. Aristotle: his Life, Teaching, and Writings. The Stoics: Zeno. The Cynics: Antisthenes. The Hedonists: Aristippus. The Epicureans: Epicurus. The Sceptics: Pyrrho. Later Greco-Roman Philosophy: Eclecticism; Panaetius and Poseidonius; Cicero; Seneca; Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy: Philo. The Neo-Platonists: Plotinus; Julian. Philosophy and Christianity 106

(*B*) SCIENCE AND THE TECHNICAL ARTS 121

Introduction: Development; Terminology; Aristotle. Geography and Astronomy: Anaximander; the Pythagoreans; Aristarchus of Samos; Ptolemy; Hecataeus; Pytheas; Eratosthenes; Strabo. Mathematics and Technical Arts: the Pythagoreans; the School of Plato; Euclid; Archimedes; Apollonius; Diophantus. Mechanics. Medicine: Hippocrates; Medical Science in Alexandria; Later Schools. Jurisprudence: Greek Legislation; the Laws of Gortyn; Law of the Twelve Tables; Roman Jurists; *Corpus Juris Romani*. Classical Scholarship in Alexandria; Aristophanes of Byzantion and Aristarchus of Samothrace; Pergamon; Rome 121

III. RELIGION (R. WAGNER)

(*A*) GREEK RELIGION 127

Its Beginnings. Belief in the Soul. Cult of Ancestors. Fetishism and Animal-worship. Anthropomorphism in Homer. The Popular Religion. Cult and Ritual. The Eleusinian Mysteries. The Orphics. The Philosophers. Rationalism. Influence of the East. Egyptian Secret Cults. Worship of the Emperor. Magic and Astrology. Mithras-worship. Relation to Christianity 127

CULT-FORMS. FESTIVALS AND GAMES. (F. Poland) 134

The State Worship. Asclepius. Cult of Heroes. Mysticism. Orgies. The Orphics. The Eleusinian Mysteries. Religious and other Associations. Cult Localities. The Priesthood. Seers. Oracles. Delphi. Purification. Magic. Prayer. Votive Presents. Sacrifices. Dancing. Festal Processions. Agonistic (Competitive Meetings). National Festivals. Prizes. Hellenic Unity 134

(*B*) ROMAN RELIGION 142

The Roman National Religion. The Special Gods. Belief in the Soul. The State Gods. Invasion of Foreign Gods. Decay of Religion. Augustus. Cult of the Emperor 142

CULT-FORMS. FESTIVALS AND GAMES. (F. Poland) 144

Adherence to the Old. Hellenizing. Cult of the East. Cult of the Emperor. Cult Localities. Temple. Priests. *Pontifices*. *Flamines*. Vestal Virgins. Augurs. *Haruspices*. Sibylline Books. Brotherhoods. Purification. Prayer. *Devotio*. Sacrifices. Suovetaurilia. Processions. Dances. Festivals. *Supplicationes*. Games. Circus. Stage Plays. Amphitheatre. Gladiators. Wild-beast Hunts. *Naumachiae*. Days for the Games 144

IV. ART (E. REISINGER)

(*A*) AEGEAN (CRETO-MYCENAEAN) ART 149

The Old Cretan Palaces. Minos. Cretan Painting and Plastic Art. Vases. Relations with Egypt. Mycenae. Tiryns. Troy 149

PAGE

(*B*) GREEK ARCHITECTURE 154

The Theory of Forms. Temples: Different Kinds; Styles (Orders); Construction; Ornament. Profane Buildings: Theatre; Stadium; Private Houses; *Bouleuterion*; Gymnasium 154

The History of Architecture. Doric Buildings: Heraeon; Temple of Aphaea; Theseion; Parthenon. Ionic Buildings: Erechtheion; Temple of Athene Nike. Propylaea. Artemision. Mausoleum. Monument of Lysicrates. The Hellenistic Period. Increase of Building Activity under the Diadochi. Olympieion. Tower of the Winds. Laying out of Cities. Piraeus. Provincial Cities. Pergamon. Altar of Zeus 156

(*C*) ROMAN ARCHITECTURE 163

The Theory of Forms. Styles of Architecture: Façade; Vault; Ornament. Buildings: Temple; Theatre; Circus; Basilica; Thermae; Triumphal Arches 164

The History of Architecture. Buildings in Rome: Well-houses; Temples; Ara Pacis; Grave of Caecilia Metella; Mausoleum of Augustus; Pyramid of Cestius; Nero's Palace; Colosseum; Arch of Titus; Trajan's Column; Pantheon; Mausoleum (*Moles*) of Hadrian; Honorary Columns and Arches; Thermae of Caracalla; Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine. Provincial Buildings: Italy; Istria; Austria-Hungary; Greece; Syria; Africa; Gaul; Rhine and Danube Countries 166

(*D*) GREEK SCULPTURE 172

The Representation of the Human Body. The Images of the Gods. The Archaic Period: the Geometrical Style; Sculptures in the Round; Statues of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries; *Apollo of Tenea*; Sculptures in Poros-stone, Wood, Bronze, and Marble; the *Maidens* (κόραι) from the Persian Rubbish-heap; Selinus; the Sepulchral Stele of Aristion; Bases of Attic Statues; the Aeginetan Pediment Groups; Statue of Enthroned Goddess (in Berlin); Reliefs from the Ludovisi Altar. The Severe Style: Group of the *Tyrannicides*; Myron; *Discobolos*; *Athene and Marsyas*; Delphi *Charioteer*; Temple of Zeus at Olympia; Stele of a Victor from Sunion. Pheidias: Life; *Athene Promachos*; *Athene Lemnia*; *Athene Parthenos*; the Olympian *Zeus*; Sculptures of the Parthenon. Cresilas: *Maidens* of the Erechtheion. Balustrade of the Temple of Nike. Attic Grave-reliefs. The *Nike* of Paeonius. Polycleitus: *Doryphoros*; *Diadoumenos*. *A Girl with a Cap*, from Beroea. Greek Sculpture in the Fourth Century B.C.: Cephisodotus; Scopas; the *Niobidae*; Praxiteles (*Hermes with the Child Dionysus, Aphrodite of Cnidus*); Leochares; Portraits; Alexander Sarcophagus; Lysippus (*Apoxyomenos*); School of Lysippus. The Hellenistic Period: General Characteristics; Pergamene Sculptures; *Gaul Stabbing Himself* and the *Dying Gaul*; the *Barberini Faun*; Altar of Zeus; the *Laocoön* group; the *Nike of Samothrace* 172

(*E*) ROMAN SCULPTURE 204

The Older Period. Copyists. Portraits. Reliefs. Ara Pacis. Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Arch of Constantine. Provincial Art 204

(*F*) PAINTING 207

Wall- and Panel-painting. Polygnotus. Agatharchus and Apollodorus. Zeuxis and Parrhasius. Apelles. Alexander Mosaic. Vase-

PAGE

painting: Geometrical Style; Black- and Red-figured Technique; François Vase; Masters of the 'Strong' Style; Vases with a White Ground. Ceramics of the Fourth Century. Hellenistic Ceramics. *Terra sigillata* 207

(*G*) INDUSTRIAL ART 214

Coins. Gems. Cameos. Gemma Augustea. Tableware. Terracottas. Glasses 214

(*H*) TOPOGRAPHY 216

Athens: the Acropolis; the Lower City. *Priene:* Plan of the Town. *Rome:* its Development; *Urbs Quadrata*; Septimontium; City of the Four Regions; the Servian City; Divisions of the City: (1) The Forum, (2) the Imperial Fora, (3) the Capitoline Hill, (4) the Palatine and its Surroundings, (5) the Campus Martius, (6) Trans Tiberim. *Pompeii:* Foundation; its Fate; Periods of the City; Ground-plan; Forum; Houses; Streets of Graves 216

V. PRIVATE LIFE (F. Poland)

(*A*) THE DWELLING-HOUSE 228

Greek: Round Hut; Peasant's House; Town-house; Decoration; King's Palaces. *Roman:* Round Hut; Old Italian House; Normal Roman House; Country-house 228

(*B*) HOUSE FURNITURE 232

Greek and Roman: Seats; Tables; Lighting; Heating; Forms of Vessels 232

(*C*) CLOTHING 235

Greek: Men's and Women's Costume; Coiffure; Hat; Footwear; Rings; Women's Finery. *Roman:* Men's and Women's Dress; Coiffure 235

(*D*) DAILY LIFE 240

Greek: General Occupations; Meals; Drinking-bouts; Inns; Slaves. *Roman:* Domestic Life; *Ientaculum*; *Prandium*; *Cena*; Drinking-bouts; Amusements; Slaves 240

(*E*) ECONOMIC LIFE: HUSBANDRY, TRADE, AND INDUSTRY 245

Greek: Husbandry; World Colonization; Exchange and Barter; Industry; Banking. *Roman:* Husbandry; Spread of Trade; Moneyed Aristocracy; Industry; Guilds 245

(*F*) THE FAMILY 250

Greek: Position of the Woman; Marriage Contract. *Roman:* Family Life; *Paterfamilias*; *Materfamilias*; Degeneration; Marriage Contract 250

(*G*) EDUCATION 253

Greek: Instruction; Bodily Development; *Gymnasia* and *Palaestrae*; Sophists. The Hellenistic Period; *Ephebeia*; State Schools; Instruction of Girls. *Roman:* Parental Instruction; Elementary Teachers; the *Grammaticus*; Teachers of Oratory; Ancient Universities 254

PAGE

(*H*) BURIAL 258

Greek: Religious Ideas; Laying out of the Body; Funeral Procession; Burial; Places of Interment; Sepulchral Ornaments; Mourning Festivities. *Roman:* Laying out of the Body; Funeral Procession; Offerings; Festival of the Dead; Memorials; Burial of the Emperors 258

VI. THE ARMY (F. Poland)

(*A*) GREECE 263

The Militia. *Sparta:* Organization of the Army; Command. *Athens:* Organization of the Army; Arms and Armour; Warfare; Battle; Mercenaries; Hellenistic Army; Siege-craft. *The Fleet:* Trireme; Type of Ship in the Hellenistic Period 263

(*B*) ROME 270

Citizen-levy. *Caesar's Army:* Marius; the Recruiting System; the Legion and its Commanders; Cavalry; Fighting; March; Siege; Camp; Service; Discipline; Pay; Booty; Rewards and Honours; Triumph; Ovation. *The Army of the Imperial Period:* Strength; Frontier Troops; Praetorian Guard; Command; Pay; Honours. *The Fleet* 270

VII. THE CONSTITUTION (F. Poland)

(*A*) GREECE 280

The Monarchy. The Aristocracy. The *Tyrannis*. The Democracy. *Sparta:* Division of the Population; Upbringing of the Youth; Tent Comradeship; Meals; War; Kings; Council of Elders; Ephors. *Athens:* Organization of the Citizens; the Authorities; Assembly of the People; Officials; Democratic Development. Law. Administration of Finances 280

(*B*) THE HELLENISTIC STATE 290

Kingship. Assembly of the People. State Council. Founding of Cities. Officialdom. Greek Cities. Hellenizing. Allied States. Hellenistic Law. Administration of Finances 290

(*C*) ROME 293

Citizens: Civil Rights; Name-giving; Freedmen; Organization. Assemblies of the People: *Comitia*. Senate: Sitting of the Senate; its Prerogatives. Magistrates: the *Imperium*; *Potestas*; Election; Honours; Consulship; Praetorship; Aedileship; Quaestorship; Censors; Tribunes of the People; Plebeian Aediles; Dictator. The Emperor and his Officials: Union of All Official Powers in the Person of the Emperor; Legates; Procurators; Praefects. Finance: State Revenues; Imposts; Direct Taxes; Expenses; Administration of Finances; Tax-farmers. Law; Civil Law; Criminal Law; Influence of the Emperor; Praetor; Governor; Municipal Authorities 293

APPENDIX: ARCHITECTURAL AND OTHER TERMS 311

BIBLIOGRAPHY 317

INDEX 321

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.		PAGE
1.	Statue of a Goddess	*Frontispiece*
2.	The Acropolis of Athens, as it is To-day	19
3.	Homer	21
4.	Red-figured Attic Drinking-cup	26
5.	Red-figured Attic Drinking-cup	27
6.	Attic Hydria (Vivenzio Vase) from Nola, about 500 B.C.	30
7.	Citadel of Tiryns	34
8.	Theseus with Amphitrite: Cup by Euphronius	*To face* 40
9.	Head of a Victorious Boxer from Olympia	42
10.	Sophocles	46
11.	Euripides	48
12.	Medea	49
13.	Apulian Vase de Luxe	50
14.	Theatre in the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus	53
15.	'Persian' Vase	57
16.	Demosthenes (Polyeuctus)	65
17.	Alexander the Great	69
18.	Menander Composing	72
19.	Cicero	83
20.	Caesar	87
21.	Augustus (from Prima Porta)	93
22.	Relief on the Arch of Titus (South Wall)	100
23.	Lessons	102
24.	Socrates	110
25.	Plato	111
26.	The Parthenon on the Acropolis	129
27.	Olympian Zeus (Pheidias)	130
28.	Head of Serapis	131
29.	Mithras Relief from Heddernheim	133
30.	Apollo Belvedere	137
31.	Youths playing Ball-game	139
32.	Charioteer from Delphi	140
33.	Stele of a Youthful Victor in the Games	141

FIG.		PAGE
34.	Copper As with Head of Janus	142
35.	Gemma Augustea	143
36.	The Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum) at Rome	147
37.	The Lion Gate at Mycenae	150
38.	Plan of the Palace of Cnossus	151
39.	Kamáres Amphora from Phaestus	152
40.	Stirrup-vase of the First Late Minoan Style from Gurnia	153
41.	Structure of a Doric Temple (after Fiechter)	155
42.	Simple Outlines of Greek Temples	156
43.	The Three Architectural Orders	157
44.	Ornamental Frieze of the Erechtheion	158
45.	Porch of the Caryatides (Erechtheion)	159
46.	Temple of Athene Nike on the Acropolis at Athens	160
47.	Athene Group from the Altar of Pergamon	161
48.	Piece from the Scroll-frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae	164
49.	Tomb of Caecilia Metella in the Roman Campagna	167
50.	Interior of the Pantheon, Rome	168
51.	Structure of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine in Rome	170
52.	The Porta Nigra at Trèves, Inner Side	171
53.	Apollo of Tenea	174
54.	Statue of a Girl from the 'Persian Rubbish' of the Acropolis, Athens	174
55.	Perseus slaying the Medusa: Metope of the Temple called C at Selinus	175
56.	Runner from the Base of a Statue in Athens	176
57.	Fallen Warrior from the East Pediment of the Temple at Aegina	177
58.	Crowning of an Altar	178
59.	The Tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton	179
60.	Discobolos (Myron)	180
61.	Athene of Myron	181
62.	Head of the Delphian Charioteer	182
63.	The Lemnian Athene(?) of Pheidias	183
64.	Marble Statuette of Athene Parthenos	184
65.	Mounted Youths from the West Frieze of the Parthenon	185
66.	Aphrodite and Companions from the East Pediment of the Parthenon	186
67.	Maiden from the Erechtheion	187
68.	Grave-relief of Mnesarete	188
69.	Restoration of the Nike of Paeonius	189
70.	Doryphoros (after Polycleitus)	190
71.	A Girl with a Cap	191

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.		PAGE
72.	Eirene with the Infant Plutus (Cephisodotus)	192
73.	Amazons and Greeks from the East Frieze of the Mausoleum	193
74.	Raging Maenad (Scopas)	194
75.	Head of Niobe	195
76.	Hermes with the Child Dionysus, by Praxiteles	196
77.	Head of the Aphrodite of Cnidus (Praxiteles)	197
78.	Heads from the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon	198
79.	Apoxyomenos (Lysippus)	199
80.	Boy strangling a Goose, by Boëthus	200
81.	The Dying Gaul	201
82.	Head of the Barberini Faun	201
83.	The Laocoön Group	202
84.	The Nike of Samothrace	203
85.	Head of Livia	204
86.	Bust of Caracalla	205
87.	Ara Pacis Augustae	206
88.	Germans negotiating with Trajan, from Trajan's Column	207
89.	Wall-decoration of the Fourth Style, Pompeii	208
90.	Odysseus and the Laestrygones: Wall-painting from the Esquiline	209
91.	Crater of Clitias and Ergotimus (the François Vase)	211
92.	Warrior and his Wife, from a White-ground Lecythus	212
93.	Cranes in Reed-bed: a Bowl of Terra Sigillata by Ateius	213
94.	Terracotta Group of Two Girls	214
95.	Street-boy pulling a Thorn from his Foot. Terracotta; Priene	215
96.	Roman Glass Beaker	215
97.	Bird's-eye View of Priene	218
98.	The Capitol and Forum Romanum in Imperial Times	221
99.	The Basilica of Maxentius	222
100.	The Arch of Constantine (North Side)	223
101.	Forum of Pompeii	225
102.	Plan of the City of Pompeii	226
103.	Reconstruction of a 'Prostas' House in Priene	229
104.	Normal Pompeian House	230
105.	Tuscan Atrium of the First Style: the Casa di Sallustio, Pompeii	231
106.	Lady of Distinction	232
107.	Candelabrum and Lamps	233
108.	Dionysus and Maenads: Neck-amphora of the Potter Amasis	234
109.	Atlas bringing Heracles the Apples of the Hesperides: Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia	236
110.	Orpheus and Eurydice	237

FIG.		PAGE
111.	Statue of a Roman wearing the Toga	238
112.	Statue of a Roman Lady (? Julia, Daughter of Titus)	238
113.	South Frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae	239
114.	Drinking-bout (Symposium): from a Cup in the Style of Brygus	241
115.	Mill worked by an Ass: Gravestone from Ostia	244
116.	Coin from Athens	246
117.	Coin of the Stamp-cutter Cimon from Syracuse	247
118.	Beaker from the Hildesheim Silver Find	250
119.	Bringing Home the Bride	252
120.	Boys at School: from a Duris Vase	254
121.	Athene with Writing-tablet: from an Attic Amphora	256
122.	Amphora of the Dipylon Style	259
123.	Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon	260
124.	Tomb of Hadrian (Sant' Angelo) and Ponte Sant' Angelo, Rome	262
125.	Grave-stele of Aristion, by Aristocles	265
126.	Tripod Monument, Miletus (Harbour District)	267
127.	Sailing Regatta: from a Black-figured Cup of Nicosthenes	269
128.	Gravestone of a Legionary Soldier	272
129.	Roman Fort, Saalburg	275
130.	Agrippa's Aqueduct at Nîmes (Pont du Gard)	276
131.	Soldiers of Trajan: Relief from Trajan's Column	277
132.	Trajan's Column, with Remains of the Basilica Ulpia	278
133.	Pericles (Cresilas)	283
134.	Potsherd (Ostrakon) with a Private Receipt	291
135.	The Forum with the Orators' Platform (Rostra): Relief from the Arch of Constantine	303
136.	Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius	308

MAPS

Athens	*at end*
Rome	*at end*

THE CULTURE OF ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

I. LITERATURE

(*A*) BOOKS

THE texts of ancient authors are chiefly preserved in medieval parchment manuscripts (*codices*), which were written in the monasteries. It is only within the last few decades that numerous remains of ancient 'books' have been brought to light out of the dry, sandy soil of Egypt. They consist of papyrus rolls, the writing on them being arranged in parallel columns, which were gradually unrolled as they were read. The paper was obtained from the pith of the papyrus-reed; parchment was not made until later (especially in Pergamon) from the skins of animals. For everyday memoranda, however, besides the much-used potsherds (ὄστρακα), small tablets (diptycha) covered with wax were most commonly used, the writing on which, scratched with a metal stilus, could be at once effaced if necessary. These tablets also served as school exercise-books, as is shown by some existing remains. Documents (such as the laws of Solon) were often written on wooden tablets, although they were generally engraved on stone or bronze. Many thousands of inscriptions have also been preserved.

Books were consequently a comparatively expensive affair; nevertheless, a brisk trade in them grew up in Athens, and especially, in later times, in Alexandria and Rome. Numbers of slaves, writing from dictation, multiplied the texts of authors, which in the form of nicely polished and ornamented rolls were then displayed in the bookshops (*e.g.*, those of the brothers Sosii at Rome). New works also very commonly became known through readings at public festivals or before specially invited audiences (called in Imperial times *recitationes*). Moreover, it was also usual in ancient times to read aloud for oneself, a practice now unfortunately forgotten.

The natural result of circulation by copying was that a written work soon became disfigured by numerous errors, arbitrary additions (interpolations), and the like. The great Alexandrian grammarians of the third and second centuries B.C. (Aristophanes of Byzantion, Aristarchus of Samothrace), who had at their disposal all kinds of copies in the city libraries, were the first to establish the standard texts by dint of unremitting labour. They further

explained them in numerous treatises and commentaries, of which remains are preserved (*e.g.*, in the case of Homer) in the notes (*scholia*) written on the margin of manuscripts. These texts were then copied again and again for 1500 years, until the invention of printing made a mechanical multiplication of them possible after the fifteenth century. But for the purification and readableness of these texts, which it was possible to purchase at a very moderate price, at least until a few years ago, we are mainly indebted to the devoted and painstaking labours of modern scholars.

(*B*) THE GREEK LANGUAGE

Greek, like the Latin, Germanic, and Slavonic tongues, is a member of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. Like Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Indians, it has retained a surprisingly large number of forms from the original parent language, especially in the verb (middle, aorist, optative, dual), which enable it to express, clearly and concisely, the finest shades and differences of ideas. The possibility of freely forming compound words increases the vocabulary to an almost unlimited extent. This is shown in great clearness, for instance, by the ingenious, expressive proper names compared with the tediously prosaic names of the Romans.

From the outset we find the language split up into numerous *dialects*, as to the great variety of which the inscriptions in particular give us information. Of these dialects Ionic (to which Attic belongs), Doric, and Aeolic acquired special importance for literature, for the individual classes of poetry permanently adhered to the dialect in which they had been first developed. For prose, Ionic was at first the dominant literary language, as it still was in Herodotus. It was not until the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. that its place was taken by Attic, from which (after 300) the Greek 'common' dialect (ἡ κοινή) was derived (p. 68), in which also the New Testament is written.

The comparison of earlier and later written records affords an instructive insight into the development and constant change of a language. Homer still exhibits the open Ionic forms, from which the Attic forms familiar to us arose through contraction. Many words still retain their original concrete meaning, which later was driven out by the abstract. The sentences are as a rule arranged quite simply, side by side (*parataxis*); subordinate clauses, with the necessary conjunctions and pronouns, first begin to show signs of development in Homer.

Greek *writing* is based on the Aramaic consonantal alphabet of twenty-two letters. The Greeks adopted it from the Phoenicians, materially improved it by indicating the vowels, and afterward developed it in various ways. This Greek alphabet (ἄλφα βῆτα) has been the most important vehicle of the world's culture, since it is the origin of all the Western varieties of writing,

FIG. 2. ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS, AS IT IS TO-DAY

The southern slope seen from the south-west. The Parthenon dominates all the other buildings. On the right rises the hill of Lycabettus, on the left the low Erechtheion, on the western border the Propylaea, beneath the feet of which lies the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Adjoining this toward the east is the long colonnade of Eumenes, which extended as far as the Theatre of Dionysus on the south-eastern slope.

From a photograph of the Prussian Institute of Photogrammetry.

above all of the Latin, which is derived from the West Greek alphabet. As may be seen from inscriptions, people wrote in large letters without any separation of the words. The punctuation-marks, accents, and breathings now in use were first introduced by the Greek grammarians.

(*C*) GREEK LITERATURE

The older Greek literature expanded with wonderful regularity—indeed, by natural compulsion. The flourishing period of the epos was followed by the development of lyric poetry, and in the fifth century Attic tragedy arose from both. Prose did not take a prominent place until the epos and the naïve view of the world by which it was dominated gradually declined.

But the starting-point of this development as a whole was not the motherland, which long after the Dorian migration still remained hampered by restricted conditions and a limited outlook, but the eastern colonies on and facing the west coast of Asia Minor. There in particular the intellectually active Ionians, in brisk commercial intercourse with the Oriental interior and the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, had steadily enlarged their horizon and also absorbed intellectual influences of every kind. Down to the time of the legislation of Solon (594) and the brilliant Court of Peisistratus and his sons (560–509) Athens was merely a country town of little importance.

It was its great successes in the Persian wars (490–479) that, combined with a fully justified self-consciousness, first stimulated to activity the rich intellectual talents of the little nation. Thus Athens, the chief city of the great Attic naval league (477–404), became a rendezvous of choice spirits, "the school of Hellas" (*τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν*) [1]—indeed, of the whole world. Even in Roman Imperial times, when its creative power had been long extinct, Athens continued to be a famous university, frequented by young men eager for education and by inquisitive travellers from all parts of the Empire.

EPIC POETRY

Nothing but the names of mythical bards such as Orpheus and Linus still survives to remind us of the oldest *hymns*, which were chanted in honour of the gods. Since as yet no written records existed, prominent personalities and memorable events very soon assumed a legendary form, and thereby became the subject of *heroic song*, which celebrated gods and heroes in separate lays resembling ballads. These lays were composed by professional singers (*ἀοιδοί*), such as Demodocus and Phemius in the *Odyssey*. They developed the highly artistic structure of the dactylic *hexameter*, which throughout ancient times remained the metre of the epos, and created a fixed artistic language and technique of the narrative art. These poems were afterward circulated throughout the Hellenic world by the *rhapsodists* who recited them.

The first beginnings of epic poetry must no doubt go back to the Mycenaean age, of which it has preserved distinct reminiscences. Its home was the Aeolic motherland, in particular Thessaly, whence it migrated with the colonists to Asia, where it was further developed by the Ionians. This explains why the Ionic language of Homer appears interlarded with numerous Aeolic forms. It was in Asia that, side by side with national themes (the war of the Seven against Thebes, the voyage of the Argonauts), the legend of the Trojan War first took a prominent place. No doubt it was founded upon an historical event ; for the situation of Troy on the Hellespont resembles that of Byzantion (Constantinople) on the Bosporus. Schliemann's excavations have brought to light nine settlements one above the other, the oldest of which goes back to the third millennium B.C., in the hill-fortress of Hissarlik. It is in the sixth layer, as W. Dörpfeld has shown, that we have to look for the Homeric Troy (p. 153).

HOMER

The story of the fight for Troy gradually expanded into an extensive cycle of legends, in which heroes and sagas from the whole of Greece were interwoven. But its central point is the *Iliad*. This does not deal with the whole war or

[1] Thucydides, ii, 41.

the capture of the city, but with deliberate artistic skill the poet has singled out from the vast material at his disposal a fascinating episode of the tenth year of the war—the wrath of Achilles. Its companion epic, the *Odyssey*, a combination of various sagas, which narrated the wanderings and return of Odysseus and also admitted many of the tales of the sea current among Ionian navigators, was a later production.

In ancient times the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were universally ascribed to the blind bard Homer (Fig. 3). Herodotus places him in the ninth century, and more than seven cities, of which Smyrna has the best claim, contended for the honour of his birthplace. For modern science the *Homeric question—i.e.*, the question of the origin and authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—is one of the hardest but also most stimulating problems, the complete solution of which is never likely to be found.

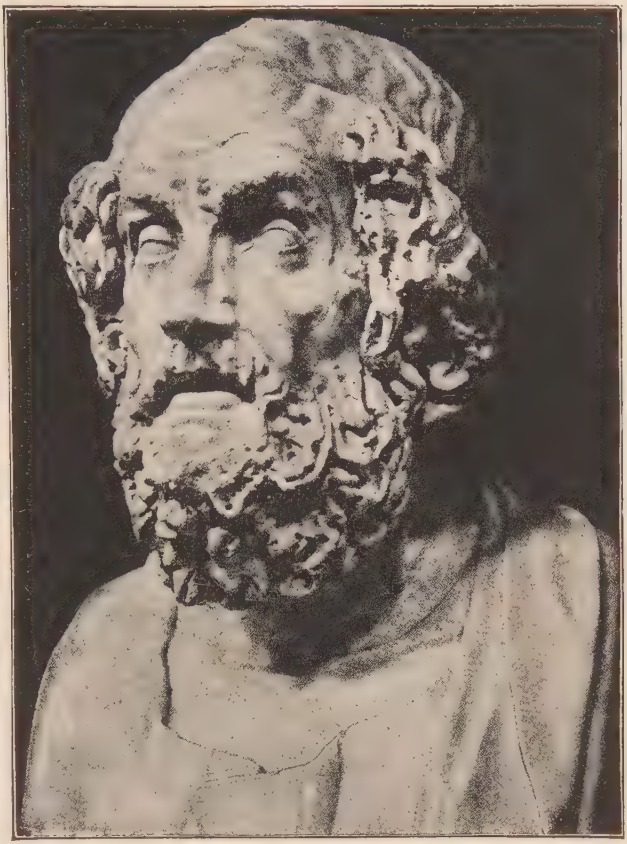


FIG. 3. HOMER

Marble bust. Ideal portrait from a late Hellenistic period, which with equal success expresses both the blindness and inspired features of the bard. Copy from the Roman Imperial period.

Naples. From a photograph.

These most ancient great poems are, of course, not to be measured by the standard of a modern poetical work, for they represent the deposit of an art of song that had been practised for centuries and had gradually advanced from the single lay to a fuller, written epic. But the *Iliad*, containing 15,693 lines in the form in which it lies before us, cannot possibly be the work of *one* poet. For although the main idea—the story of the wrath of Achilles, its origin, consequences, and appeasement—keeps the whole together, the connexion is frequently interrupted by lengthy episodes, repetitions, and all sorts of contradictions, partly excusable, but sometimes unpardonable. Either it was based upon a shorter 'original *Iliad*,' a unity which was enlarged by numerous interpolations and alterations and finally reduced to its present form by an editor; or it is the independent composition of a later poet, who used as his material the lays that were current at the time. But in any case the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* cannot be the work of the same

author; for the latter, in its description of manners and customs, justice, inner life, society, and the State, exhibits a somewhat more advanced stage of culture as contrasted with the former.

THE ILIAD. The action, in spite of interpolations, pursues a fairly straightforward course. It takes fifty days to complete, of which, however, the first book alone contains twenty and the last twenty-two. The four battle-days are especially prominent: the twenty-first (books ii–vii), the twenty-fourth (viii x), and the decisive battles on the twenty-fifth (xi–xviii) and twenty-sixth (xix–xxii). The titles are older than the division into twenty-four books, and consequently do not always give an accurate description of the contents. Some of them are inserted below.

CONTENTS. (1) *Origin of the wrath of Achilles.* The war-lord Agamemnon has refused to restore Chryseïs, a prisoner of war, to her father Chryses, the priest of Apollo. For this the god sends a pestilence, which rages for nine days in the army. On the tenth day Achilles summons the army to an assembly and demands the surrender of Chryseïs. Agamemnon unwillingly complies, but claims as compensation the maiden Briseïs, Achilles' gift of honour captured by himself. After a violent dispute Achilles swears that henceforth he will take no part in the struggle. Briseïs is taken away. Achilles' mother Thetis, who has heard his complaints in the depths of the sea, promises to assist him. She accordingly obtains a promise from Zeus on Olympus that he will grant victory to the Trojans in order to punish the Achaeans (i).

(2) *The first day of battle.* Deceived by a dream sent by Zeus, in which he is promised success, Agamemnon is eager to lead the army to battle. His scheme to kindle the Achaeans' desire for the fight by pretending to call upon them to return home fails, and they are only persuaded to remain by the shrewd intervention of Odysseus, who chastises the insolent babbler Thersites. The army draws up in order of battle. The *Catalogue of Ships* that follows contains an enumeration of the contending forces: of the Achaeans, 1186 ships with about 100,000 men from twenty-nine countries; of the Trojans and their allies, 50,000 men (ii). As the army is advancing, Alexandrus (Paris) challenges Menelaus, before whom he had at first retreated, to a duel which shall decide the war. The grey-haired King Priam, who is looking upon the battlefield from a tower on the ramparts, together with Helen and the Trojan elders (*Τειχοσκοπία*), is fetched to conclude the agreement. Menelaus gets the upper hand in the duel, but Aphrodite carries Paris away to Troy (iii). The Lycian Pandarus, misled by Athene, violates the agreement by wounding Menelaus with an arrow from his bow. Agamemnon thereupon reviews the army, to encourage the soldiers and their commanders to fight (iv).

The battle now at length begins, in which Diomedes slays Pandarus, wounds Aphrodite, and lastly (inspired by Athene) even the war-god Ares (*Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, v). On the advice of his brother, the seer Helenus, Hector hastens to the city to induce his mother Hecuba to implore the aid of Athene against Diomedes. In the meantime Diomedes and the Lycian Glaucus engage in combat outside the city, but, in memory of the long-standing ties of hospitality between their ancestors, abandon the duel and exchange arms. Meanwhile, in the city Hector urges on the sluggish Paris to battle. At the Scaean gate he finds his wife Andromache with her little son Astyanax, and takes a touching leave of both (vi). He then challenges Telamonian Ajax to a single combat, which, honourable to both, ends indecisively. After unsuccessful consultations and negotiations a truce is agreed upon for the burial of the dead. Meanwhile, however, the Achaeans strengthen their naval encampment by building a wall and digging a moat (vii).

(3) *The second day of battle. Attempt at reconciliation.* Zeus now forbids the gods to take part in the struggle. As the result the Achaeans are twice driven back, and the

victorious Trojans bivouac on the battlefield (viii). At a consultation with the leaders by night Agamemnon, acting on the advice of Nestor, declares himself ready to restore Briseïs to Achilles with abundant propitiatory gifts. Odysseus, Telamonian Ajax, and Phoenix, Achilles' old tutor, are sent as ambassadors to Achilles. He accords them a friendly reception, but his noble pride, which material reparation by means of presents cannot satisfy, renders all remonstrances and entreaties unavailing (*Πρεσβεία*, ix). During the same night Diomedes and Odysseus undertake a spying expedition to the Trojan camp. They slay the enemy spy Dolon and capture the horses of the Thracian prince Rhesus (*Δολώνεια*, x).

(4) *The third day of battle. Death of Patroclus.* Agamemnon, after having slain a number of Trojans, is at last wounded, as are other Achaean heroes. Achilles, who is looking on at the battle, dispatches his friend Patroclus to inquire about a wounded Achaean (the physician Machaon), who has been carried off the field by Nestor. Nestor earnestly beseeches him, if Achilles continues in his wrath, at least to come to the assistance of the Achaeans himself with the Myrmidones. On the way back Patroclus remains for a long time with the wounded Eurypylus (xi). Meanwhile, the Trojans drive back the Achaeans and assault the wall. At last Hector bursts open the gate with a huge stone (*Τειχομαχία*, xii). The Achaeans, inspired by Poseidon, vigorously resist the Trojan attack on the ships (xiii). At this critical moment Hera hastens to Zeus, who is watching the battle from Mount Ida, and with the aid of Aphrodite and Hypnos manages to send him to sleep (*Διὸς ἀπάτη*). The Achaeans now drive the enemy back from the ships, and Hector is severely wounded by Ajax (xiv). Zeus then wakes up and grants victory to the Trojans again. Hector, healed of his wound by Zeus, throws back the Achaeans and again presses on toward the ships, which Telamonian Ajax defends to the utmost of his power (xv). Patroclus now at last returns to Achilles, and obtains permission from him to put on his armour and lead the Myrmidones to avert destruction from the ships. Meanwhile, Ajax is forced to give way to Hector, and the Trojans hurl fire upon the ships. All seems lost, and Achilles himself urges the Myrmidones to hasten to the scene of action. The Trojans, taking Patroclus for Achilles, flee before him into the plain, where he slays the Lycian Sarpedon. But when he attempts to storm the city in spite of the prohibition of Achilles, bewildered by the loud voice of Apollo, he falls at last by the hand of Hector (*Πατρόκλεια*, xvi). In the fight for his body Menelaus and Ajax offer obstinate resistance to Hector (xvii). Antilochus, the son of Nestor, is sent by Menelaus to convey the mournful tidings to Achilles, whose loud lamentations summon up Thetis from the depths of the sea with her sister-nymphs the Nereids. She promises her son, now thirsting for revenge, a new suit of armour; for he has at once resolved to avenge his friend, although he is aware that death awaits him immediately after Hector's fall. Meanwhile, Hector is on the point of getting possession of the body of Patroclus, but Achilles, though unarmed, at the bidding of the gods terrifies the Trojans, who retreat at his mighty shout. Achilles abandons himself to his distracting sorrow by the side of his friend's dead body, which is carried into his hut. During the night Hephaestus, at the request of Thetis, forges a new suit of armour for Achilles. Description of the shield (*Ὁπλοποιία*, xviii).

(5) *Reconciliation. Fourth day of battle. Death of Hector.* After Thetis has brought the armour to her son the solemn reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon takes place. Achilles arms (xix). Introduced by a battle in which the gods take part, the decisive combat begins. Aeneas faces Achilles and is defeated, but is carried away into safety at the bidding of Zeus (xx). Achilles drives the fleeing Trojans into the Scamander, where he slays the young Lycaon, one of the sons of Priam, in spite of his entreaties. The river-god, incensed at the murder, presses Achilles hard and pursues him with his waters, until the fire of Hephaestus frightens him back into his bed. The Trojans flee into the city (*Μάχη παραποτάμιος*, xxi). Hector makes up his mind to fight, but flees before the terrible onset of his foe. Deceived by Athene, he at last confronts Achilles

and falls by his hand, vainly imploring him to bury him. Achilles drags the body into the camp (*Ἕκτορος ἀναίρεσις*, xxii).

(6) *Burial of Patroclus and Hector.* The body of Patroclus is now at last burnt on a huge funeral pyre. On the following day Achilles arranges splendid funeral games, the prizes in which are won by the best of the heroes (xxiii). Twelve days after Hector's death the gods decide that his body, so maltreated by Achilles, shall be given back to the Trojans. Conducted by Hermes, Priam ventures into the enemy's camp. His appearance and entreaties touch the heart of Achilles, so that he delivers up the body of Hector. In the city Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen perform the lamentations for the dead, and after nine days' preparation he is buried with due solemnity (*Ἕκτορος λύτρα*, xxiv).

The Odyssey. The improvement in technique is shown in the artistic grouping of the material. The narrative does not begin until the tenth year of the wanderings of Odysseus, and the events cover a period of only forty days. The poem is divided into three parts: (1) the Telemachia, which by way of introduction describes the state of affairs in the homeland, due to the absence of Odysseus (i–iv); (2) the return of Odysseus from the island of Calypso to the land of the Phaeacians (v–viii), to whom the hero himself gives a most striking account of his marvellous wanderings (ix–xii); (3) Odysseus in Ithaca—his arrival, preparations for the murder of the suitors, its execution, and lastly the scenes of recognition (xiii–xxiv).

(1) *The Telemachia.* In the absence of Poseidon, who bears a grudge against Odysseus for having blinded his son Polyphemus, the gods resolve to send Odysseus home. Athene, in the form of Mentes, goes to Ithaca and advises Telemachus, who describes the shameless behaviour of the suitors of his mother Penelope, to make a complaint in the assembly of the people and then to set out to obtain news of his father (i). In the assembly Telemachus obtains no satisfaction; the suitors blame the dilatoriness of Penelope (she is making the shroud for her grandfather Laërtes) and demand that he should press her to come to a decision. But Telemachus departs, accompanied by Athene in the form of Mentor (ii). He lands at Pylos, where Nestor informs him of the return of the Achaeans and of the murder of Agamemnon. Of Odysseus he knows nothing (iii). Following his advice, Telemachus then goes on to Sparta, where Menelaus recounts his own wanderings and adventures in Egypt with Proteus, the prophetic old man of the sea, whom he took by surprise in the midst of his seals. Proteus has informed him that Odysseus is loitering with Calypso (iv).

(2) *The homecoming of Odysseus.* At a second council of the gods Hermes is commissioned to order the nymph Calypso to send Odysseus home. For seven years she has detained him on the island of Ogygia against his will, in the hope of winning him for her husband. Odysseus now builds himself a raft in four days and joyfully departs. When, however, after seventeen days, he is already in sight of the coast of Scheria, Poseidon on his way home recognizes him and shatters his vessel to pieces. Girt with the veil of the kindly sea-goddess Leucothea, Odysseus at last reaches the shore of the land of the Phaeacians at the mouth of a river. Here, according to the decree of fate, he is freed from the wrath of Poseidon (v). On the next morning, persuaded by Athene in a dream, Nausicaa, the daughter of King Alcinous, sets out for the same river to wash linen. While she is amusing herself afterward by playing ball with her attendant maidens their cries awaken Odysseus from a deep sleep. He gains the confidence of the King's charming daughter, who provides him with clothes (vi). Athene herself accompanies him to the palace of Alcinous, who, together with his wife Arete, gives him a friendly reception (vii).

On the following day the Phaeacians resolve to send their guest home. At a banquet the song of the blind bard Demodocus on the fate of Troy moves him to tears. In the games he shows his mastery in hurling the discus, in which he had been indiscreetly challenged by a Phaeacian youth. At the farewell meal Odysseus finally discloses his identity, after Demodocus has sung of the wooden horse (viii), and tells the *story of his wanderings*. After his departure from Troy he had fought with the Cicones, and with his twelve ships had reached the promontory of Malea. Thence a storm drives him into the land of fable. After twelve days he lands among the Lotophagi, and is obliged forcibly to drag away his companions, who, after eating the sweet lotus-fruit (? dates), have forgotten their fatherland. He next arrives at the island of goats and crosses over with one of his ships to the island of the Cyclopes. The one-eyed giant Polyphemus, in whose cave he had imprudently remained, after devouring six of Odysseus' comrades, is made drunk by him and blinded. Having made good his escape from the cave by a clever trick, he mocks the Cyclops. He avoids the stones which he hurls at him, but Poseidon hears his son's prayer for vengeance (ix). Aeolus, the ruler of the winds, receives Odysseus hospitably and sends him on his way to Ithaca. But when, after nine days, he already sights the mountains of his native land his companions open the bag given him by Aeolus, in which the adverse winds were imprisoned, and he is driven back again. In the harbour of the land of the gigantic Laestrygonian cannibals he loses eleven of his ships. With the remaining one he puts in at the island of Aeaea, where the enchantress Circe changes his companions, who had been sent out to obtain information, into swine. Rendered proof against her enchantments by Hermes, he remains with her for a year (x). Before leaving, at her bidding he journeys to the entrance of the lower world, where the shade of the seer Teiresias reveals the future to him. From his dead mother Anticleia he receives the first news from his home, and also sees his comrades in the Trojan War again (*Νέκυια*, xi). Continuing his journey, he escapes the magic song of the Sirens and passes unharmed between Charybdis and Scylla, who carries off six of his companions. But on the island of Thrinacia, where the oxen of Helius the sun-god are feeding, destiny fulfils itself. His companions are driven by hunger to slaughter the oxen, ignoring the advice given by Teiresias. In the result, after he has started on his journey again, his ship is destroyed by a storm. Odysseus, the sole survivor, escapes the whirlpool of Charybdis. After nine days he is cast ashore on the island of Ogygia (xii).

(3) *Odysseus in Ithaca.* In a single night the Phaeacian ship conveys him asleep to his native island, which he does not recognize until the arrival of Athene to assist him. In the disguise of an old beggar (xiii) he seeks shelter with his faithful swineherd Eumaeus, in whom he vainly endeavours to arouse hopes of the return of his master (xiv). Meanwhile, Athene brings about the return from Sparta of Telemachus, who first visits Eumaeus (xv). There Odysseus reveals himself, and the punishment of the suitors is discussed (xvi). In the morning Telemachus, followed by Odysseus, proceeds to the city. Odysseus is recognized in his courtyard by his dying dog Argus and insulted by the suitors (xvii). In a boxing contest he overcomes the beggar Irus, and watches with indignation the insolent behaviour of the suitors (xviii). In the night he converses with Penelope and swears to her that Odysseus will return on the next day. His old nurse Eurycleia recognizes him while washing his feet. Penelope agrees to the contest of the bow, the victor in which is to take her home as his bride (xix). While preparations are being made the suitors again insult Odysseus (xx).

The contest with the bow of Odysseus now begins. Neither Telemachus nor the suitors can bend it. Odysseus reveals himself to Eumaeus outside. Then he asks for the bow, which is given him in spite of the objections of the suitors. After Penelope has left the hall Odysseus bends the bow and shoots through the handles of twelve axes that have been set up (xxi). With the next arrow he shoots the insolent Antinous. In the battle with the suitors, to whom weapons are secretly brought from outside, he and his few trusty companions are hard pressed, and it is not until Athene, in the form of Mentor,

FIG. 4. RED-FIGURED ATTIC DRINKING-CUP
Odysseus is shooting at the suitors; behind him are two maids.
Berlin. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

comes to his assistance that he lays low the last of the suitors (xxii). Eurycleia now wakes Penelope and leads her into the hall. At first, still in doubt, she sits opposite to her husband; and not until she sees him again in his true form before her, and he has proved himself to be the real Odysseus, does she abandon herself to her delight. During the night he tells her the story of his adventures and sufferings (xxiii). Hermes conducts the souls of the suitors into the underworld. On the following morning Odysseus sets out to visit his aged father on his estate. The suitors' exasperated kinsmen follow in pursuit, but Athene stops the threatening conflict and makes peace (xxiv).

THE ART OF EPIC POETRY. An epic poem exhibits a strongly marked uniformity of style. The first thing that strikes us is the use of set forms and expressions: the standing epithets (*epitheta ornantia*) applied to things and persons even when they have no special relation to the connexion in each particular case, and the stock formulae in which frequently recurring incidents —addresses, questions, answers, sacrifices, meals, arming and battles, sunrise and sunset—are described. Inherited from the old school of bards, they furnished the reciter with an aid to memory and made it easier for the hearers to understand what was said. The same applies to the measure; for through Homer the hexameter became unconditionally the metre of epos. Despite innumerable repetitions its effect is never monotonous. This is prevented by the different caesuras and the change from light dactyls to heavy spondees, which also serves in detail to bring form and matter into harmonious agreement.

The typical *technique of epos* is based upon the plain, objective narrative of events, which as to outward form are as a rule arranged quite simply side

FIG. 5. RED-FIGURED ATTIC DRINKING-CUP
The suitors are endeavouring to protect themselves from the arrows of Odysseus.
Berlin. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

by side. But the more closely we look into it the greater is our admiration for the delicate art of the poet; he often shows himself capable of grouping the individual scenes together most effectively, of exciting and retaining the lively sympathy of his hearers, and of investing even marvellous events with an appearance of intrinsic truth. The mental keenness of vision which characterizes his observation of the outward behaviour and the inner life of men, and the unfailing accuracy of his descriptions of the world around, of nature, and of animal life, are astonishing. The manner in which, by emphasizing trifling and apparently subsidiary features, he often directly compels the hearer to form a vivid conception of events for himself also claims attention. For instance, even to-day the brilliant description of the funeral games in honour of Patroclus will be followed with interest and excitement by every friend of sport. But side by side with 'epic breadth' a most effective brevity of statement is not infrequently found (*e.g.*, in the Introduction of the *Iliad*). In the same manner descriptions such as those of the bow of Pandarus [1] and of the shield of Achilles [2] are converted into action by the art of the poet. The numerous artistically worked out similes (178 in the *Iliad*, 29 in the *Odyssey*) also serve to illustrate events. In clearly drawn, instantaneous pictures they bring before our eyes the doings and occupations of men, the life of animals and their fights with one another and with men, and transport us into the very heart of the nature of Hellenic land

[1] *Iliad*, iv, 116 ff.

[2] *Iliad*, xviii, 483 ff.

and sea. The feelings of the heroes are not described in the same manner, but they are revealed in their speeches, which are often wonderfully appropriate to their character and the situation (*e.g.*, the first gathering of the army in the *Iliad*, the embassy to Achilles, the famous conversation of Hector with Andromache, or that between Odysseus and Nausicaa).

The *heroes* themselves are not all after the same pattern, but vigorously drawn types, in which the different qualities admired by the Greek are strongly marked. Achilles is the embodiment of the noblest spirit of heroism ; the extravagance of his youthful passion is checked and refined by the sore buffetings of fate, from which even the son of the goddess is not exempt. Agamemnon, the King and commander-in-chief, is irritable and not free from selfishness ; the mighty Telamonian Ajax is proud and overbearing ; Diomedes is simple and modest. Hector, the counterpart of Achilles, is entirely devoted to his country and family ; Paris is lovable, but weak. In the *Odyssey* the " much-enduring " Odysseus, who with grim steadfastness, craft, and strength overcomes all the hostile powers which oppose his return and reunion with his loyal wife, is the prominent figure. Similarly, the generally human characteristics, which are the same to-day as they were three thousand years ago, are throughout described with incomparable fidelity and vividness.

As a genuine epic poet Homer, in spite of a warm inward sympathy, keeps himself entirely in the background. His only aim is to narrate and entertain ; but a wealth of practical wisdom, of shrewd lessons in word and example, lies hidden in his poems. This accounts for the unbounded influence which he exercised upon the Hellenic world, although his epics of chivalry were at first composed only for the ruling families of Ionia. "To this poet," says Plato, " Greece owes her culture." [1] His poems were recited at the great State festivals (*e.g.*, the Panathenaea) as early as the time of Peisistratus and in the sixth century were read in schools. From them the young, who received no religious instruction at all, learnt pious customs, belief in the gods, and all human virtues. For the whole of the epic poetry of antiquity, including that of the Romans (Ennius, Virgil), Homer was, and continued to be, the unattainable model.

THE EPIC CYCLE

Other epics, of the nature of supplements and continuations, were tacked on to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (the former was finished *c.* 700, the latter in the main *c.* 600). The *Cypria* (τὰ *Κύπρια*) related the story of events before the war : the beauty-contest of the goddesses ; the rape of Helen ; the departure for Troy and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia ; and the battles of the first years. The *Aethiopis* next continued the narrative of the *Iliad* : the battles of the Achaeans with the Amazon queen Penthesileia and the Aethiopian prince Memnon, both of whom are slain by Achilles ; the death of Achilles at the

[1] *Republic*, x, 606E.

Scaean gate by the arrow of Paris; and the contest for his arms between Odysseus and Ajax, who, deeply mortified by his defeat, goes mad and then in despair falls upon his sword. After the death of the great heroes Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and Philoctetes (p. 47) are fetched to Troy to assist the besiegers. This and the final conquest of the city by the device of the wooden horse and its destruction were described in the *Iliupersis* (*Ἰλίου πέρσις*) and the later *Little Iliad* (*cf.* Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii). The *Returns* (*νόστοι*), in connexion with the *Odyssey*, treated of the adventures undergone by other heroes during or after their return, particularly the murder of Agamemnon by his wife Clytemnestra. In addition, there were in existence poems the subject of which was the Theban legends of Oedipus and the war of the Seven against Thebes. All these epics, which were early lost and only survived in prose extracts, were later put together under the name of the Epic Cycle. They supplied the lyric poets and especially the tragedians with their favourite material. The plastic arts also were indebted to them for many effective figures and situations, and through them the dry summaries in turn receive light and colouring for us as well (Fig. 6).

THE HOMERIC WORLD

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, supplementing each other, combine to represent a vivid and apparently uniform complete picture of the Homeric world. Apart from the similes (p. 27) the *Iliad* in the main is devoted to a description of the war; the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, treats of seafaring and the peaceful conditions of home-life. To what extent, besides this, actual reminiscences and survivals from the legendary period preceding the Dorian migration (which it is the desire of the poet to revive) are intermingled with the conditions of his own time cannot always be definitely established. In many cases, however, it may be observed that the poet intentionally excludes from his narrative the circumstances under which he himself is living, in order to create an impression of antiquity. But it must not be overlooked, especially in the case of the *Iliad*, that Homer was not writing for the whole people, but was composing a Court epic for the nobles of Ionia, whose moral and religious views he accordingly reproduced. The period in the history of culture into which he introduces us is the *bronze age*; iron, the working of which was difficult, is only incidentally mentioned. The *earth* is represented as a disk surrounded by the ocean, in the midst of which lies the Aegean. Cyprus and Phoenicia are known; of Libya and Egypt and of the realm of fable extending south and west of Greece the *Odyssey* has a hazy knowledge, for which no doubt it is indebted to Phoenician sailors. It was not until later that the wanderings of Odysseus, which originally seem to point to the Black Sea, were localized in Libya (the Lotophagi), Sicily (the Cyclopes), and Corfu (the Phaeacians). At the present day it is hotly disputed whether the island-home of Odysseus, as all the ancients assumed, is the modern Ithaca (Thiaki)

FIG. 6. ATTIC HYDRIA (VIVENZIO VASE) FROM NOLA, ABOUT 500 B.C.

The shoulder-painting represents the capture of Troy (*Iliupersis*). In the centre Neoptolemus is slaying the aged Priam, who is seated on an altar with the bloodstained corpse of Astyanax on his knees. On the right Andromache is fighting with a pestle; on the left Ajax is pulling Cassandra away from the sacred image of Athene; still farther on the left Aeneas is fleeing with his father Anchises and his little son Ascanius.

Naples. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

or the neighbouring Leucas (Santa Maura). The topographical details of the *Iliad* agree in the main with the plain of Troy (again quite recently the scene of fighting) and the hill-fortress of Hissarlik (see p. 20).

RELIGION AND VIEW OF LIFE. Homer's world of gods, which became the authority for the later Greeks and also for our own conception of their gods, is already far removed from the first beginnings of religion (p. 127). The mighty forces of nature, whose original character only occasionally still comes to light, have become living personalities, created by the poet in the likeness of man, and consequently endowed with human virtues and vices. Properly speaking, their only advantage over the great heroes is immortality, which they owe to ambrosia and nectar—the food and drink of the gods. For they are neither almighty nor omniscient; over and above them also stands Moira

(Fate), whose decree even Zeus can only investigate, but cannot avert (*cf.* the weighing of the souls before the death of Hector [1]). As they love and hate one another, in like manner they side with Greeks or Trojans. They intervene directly, either invisible or in human form, in the destinies of men and nations ; they screen their favourites and punish evildoers, but also, when it suits their purpose, themselves lead men astray to do evil. Their home is on Olympus, which in the *Iliad* does not as yet denote the 'sky,' but only the snow-clad mountain. Zeus rules over them like a king on earth ; yet sometimes they only obey his peremptory orders with reluctance, and there is no lack of discord and quarrels even in the councils of the Olympians. Nevertheless, the men of Homer firmly believe in these gods, and trace their direct influence in all unusual events and doings. Hence it is no detriment to the greatness of a hero if a god stands by his side to advise or assist him—this being merely a naïve expression of the feeling that the daring deeds of an Achilles or a Diomedes, or the crafty schemes of an Odysseus, would otherwise be incomprehensible.

As yet the *worship* of the gods as a rule takes place not in temples, but in the open air. The priests are of little importance, for every head of a household, king, or general can offer sacrifice on behalf of his own people. By prayers and vows, votive offerings and sacrifices, men seek to propitiate the gods, in the belief that in so doing they also secure a definite claim to their assistance.

Before the performance of any religious ceremony men wash their hands, in order that they may present themselves clean before the deity. *Sacrifices* are offered before every important undertaking—*e.g.*, battle, entering upon a journey ; indeed, every meal at which meat is eaten is inaugurated by a sacrifice. The great public sacrifice, the hecatomb with its primitive ritual, was especially impressive. The hairs were cut from the forehead of the sacrificial beasts and thrown into the fire ; sacrificial barley was strewn between the horns. The beasts were then slaughtered, and the thigh-bones, wrapped in two layers of fat on which pieces of meat were laid, were burnt. While the savour from the fat, so agreeable to the gods, ascended to heaven the banquet was prepared. In the libation part of the liquid was poured on the ground. A solemn oath was also taken, at which ceremony an animal, no part of which might be eaten, was sacrificed. Men swore by different divinities ; even the gods administered an inviolable oath to one another by the holy water of Styx.

The art of *prophecy* and its representatives the seers (such as Calchas) were held in high esteem. To investigate the future and the will of the heavenly beings, presages of all kinds were observed, especially the flight and behaviour of birds, or a thunderbolt from a clear sky ; indeed, even sneezing was at that time considered a favourable omen.

A greater outward veneration for these gods in the likeness of men could not by itself produce a deeper religious feeling and a god-fearing moral sense. Only once, in the case of Achilles, do we find a hint that "obedience is better than sacrifice." But the consciousness of being entirely in the power of these

[1] *Iliad*, xxii, 209 ff.

mighty beings and the fear of incurring their wrath by wanton insolence (ὕβρις) or infatuation (ἄτη) urges men to piety, and a healthy sense of enjoyment produces a healthy moral tone. For joy in life is the characteristic of the Homeric world, although hazy notions of the frail and perishable nature and of the infatuation of mortals are frequently active. However singular it may sound in reference to these early times, we already find ourselves in an age of 'enlightenment.' No fear of uncanny spirits (demons) and the powers of the underworld, no ghostly superstition, no malevolent sorcery, cramps and ensnares mankind, as was undoubtedly the case in the times before and after Homer. Hence all the powers of man are able to develop freely, in the frank enjoyment of life as well as the fearless desire to perform great deeds, and it remains the last consolation of the dying hero that he "will be a subject for song in generations to come." Thus "the sun of Homer" shines in serene, imperishable splendour above this world; Homeric simplicity exercises an effect, especially on us moderns, that is refreshing to the heart; every one speaks as he feels—frankly and without disguise, knowing nothing of mental reservations in regard to himself or his fellow-men.

State and Society. In the State a *king* "by God's grace" (διοτρεφής, διογενής) rules as supreme judge, priest, and commander-in-chief. It is nominally the old patriarchal kingship. But as in the poet's time aristocracy was already in the ascendant everywhere in the cities—

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω[1]

—the power of the king appears greatly restricted by the nobles, as is shown by the precarious position of the war-lord Agamemnon and the insolent behaviour of the suitors in the house of Odysseus. Apart from the contributions of the people, the king receives the revenues from the crown domain (τέμενος). In return he is obliged to entertain the nobles assembled with him at a meeting and to offer hospitality to strangers (Alcinous and Odysseus).

The *nobles* or chieftains, the great landowners, who themselves are sometimes called 'kings' (βασιλῆες), confer with him on all important affairs, and are bound to render him military service. They are also the spokesmen in the assemblies of the people or the army. The crowd only expresses its approval or disapproval, and takes no part in the proceedings, as is shown by the repulsive description and punishment of the only 'demagogue' (Thersites). Besides the *common freemen*, the small landowners, there are also the despised sojourners (μετανάσται, immigrants) and hired labourers (θῆτες), who possess no land. Most of the work was done by *slaves*, who were either prisoners of war or obtained by robbery or purchase—*e.g.*, from Phoenician traders. Well looked after and regarded as members of the household (hence called οἰκεύς, later οἰκέτης), they could even rise to the position of stewards and confidential servants of their masters (Eumaeus, Eurycleia). As yet no recognizable contrast between Greeks and barbarians exists. *Strangers* and

[1] *Iliad*, ii, 204: "The rule of many is not good; let there be one ruler."

suppliants who approach the hearth, even beggars, are under the protection of Zeus and may count upon a friendly reception. The firmly cemented, even hereditary, ties of hospitality thereby established, even between families living far apart, were all the more valuable since otherwise the travelling stranger was without protection or rights, and might even easily be regarded as an enemy.

The *family* is firmly based upon monogamy ; only the Asiatic King Priam has several wives besides Hecuba. It exhibits an intimate common life of husbands, wives, and children, full of love and tender regard (Hector and Andromache, Odysseus and Penelope, Telemachus). Although the art of the poet may have glorified the picture of Homeric family life, in any case the mistress of the house then occupied a far more dignified position in Ionia than later in Athens.

The *means of livelihood* are almost exclusively agriculture and cattle-breeding ; on the rocky islands, however, as a rule only pigs, sheep, and goats are kept. The cultivation of the land is simple and adapted for the purpose ; carefully kept fruit-gardens also are common, and the well-arranged dairy of Polyphemus is remarkable. No one is taken into account unless he is a landowner.

Nearly everything that is required in the shape of *household effects* and *articles of dress* is made in the house by slaves, but even the Kings do not think it beneath their dignity to take a hand ; their wives and daughters spin, weave, and wash clothes. Special professional classes are just beginning to be formed : these consist of those working for the community (δημιοεργοί) —not only artisans such as carpenters, smiths, and shipbuilders, but also physicians, heralds, and seers. Costly objects of art, weapons, golden beakers, and gorgeous raiment are mostly imported. *Trade*, often combined with piracy, is carried on by Phoenician navigators. It is a form of barter, in which the ox serves as a standard of value, although the precious metals are already highly estimated.

Notwithstanding these simple conditions the heroes are proud of their civilization, and well they may be. For side by side with isolated survivals of ancient barbarism and sporadic outbreaks of primitive brutality we find strongly marked forms of social intercourse together with many surprising features of noble chivalry (behaviour toward parents and elders, reception of the guest, inviolability of the heralds).

The House. Homer makes us acquainted with large and small dwellings —the palace of Alcinous, the house of Odysseus, the hut of Eumaeus, and the encampment before Troy. The excavation of the colonnaded royal palaces of the Mycenaean age (Fig. 7) has materially increased our understanding of them, though not to such an extent that, for instance, we should be able to draw a clear outline of the house of Odysseus.

The nucleus of a nobleman's house was the large rectangular hall (μέγαρον), in the centre of which was the circular hearth (ἑστία) surrounded by four columns

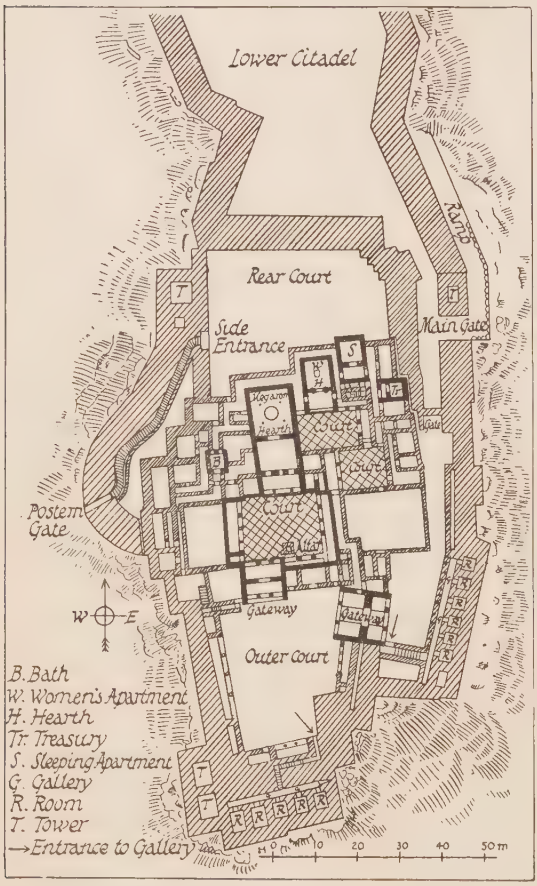


FIG. 7. CITADEL OF TIRYNS
Outline sketch from H. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, i.
[See p. 153.]

(as at Tiryns). The smoke escaped through holes in the roof and the great door, which also served to admit the light. In front of the hall was the portico (*αἰθουσα*) and the court (*αὐλή*), with an altar of *Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος* (protector of the property). In the earliest time the hall was no doubt the only living-room, for in a recess (*μυχός*) at the back stood the nuptial couch; sleeping accommodation for guests was provided in the portico. The chambers (*θάλαμοι*) for those belonging to the household lay behind the hall and were accessible from the court by narrow passages (*ὁδοί, λαῦραι*). Here also were armouries, treasure-houses (*θησαυροί*), domestic offices, and also bathrooms. In the house of Odysseus a staircase leads to the upper story (*ὑπερῷον*), the favourite retreat of Penelope. The premises are surrounded by a wall (*τοῖχος*), behind which, in the house of Alcinous, were extensive and carefully laid-out gardens. That the entire structure represents not only a chieftain's seat, but also a manor-house or grange, is shown by the dung-heaps (*κόπρος*) in the court of the house of Odysseus.

The *furniture* was limited to what was indispensable, but was tastefully arranged in the house of a wealthy man. There were little tables (*τράπεζαι*) to set before the guests, and various sitting accommodation: *δίφροι* (seats without backs or arms), *κλισμοί* (easy chairs without arms), *θρόνοι* (high chairs with straight backs and arms), over which were spread *ῥήγεα* (rugs, cushions) and *πέπλοι* (covers), with a *θρῆνυς* (footstool); the custom of reclining at table belongs to a later time. The beds (*λέχεα, λέκτρα*) and bedding consisted of *δέμνια* (bedsteads) and *ῥήγεα* (mattresses, over which were spread *τάπητες* (rugs, used as a kind of sheet). Woollen blankets (*χλαῖναι*) were used by the sleeper to cover himself with.[1] The place of modern safes and wardrobes was taken by large chests (*χηλοί*) throughout ancient times.

[1] Authorities do not agree as to the precise meaning and the best English equivalents of these terms.—TR.]

Clothing and Food. *Clothing.* Men wore two kinds of garment: the sewn, shirt-like χιτών, generally made of linen, and the woollen cloak (χλαῖνα), worn when going out. The latter was an oblong piece of stuff, thrown round the wearer like a mantle, drawn forward over the shoulder, and fastened with a clasp or brooch (περόνη, πόρπη). On solemn occasions the king put on a richly ornamented over-garment (φᾶρος). A staff (σκῆπτρον) the height of a man served as a support in walking and at the same time as a sign of authority.

The long sleeveless woman's garment (πέπλος) was fastened with pins in front on the breast and below on the left side. It was kept together by a girdle (ζώνη), often richly adorned with gold. Over this the peplos formed a bellying fold (κόλπος), which could also be used as a pouch or pocket. In the presence of men and on going out women wore the linen veil-cloth (κρήδεμνον), which hung down from the head over the shoulders, and in conversation with men was held before the face. Round the head the upper-class woman wore a golden circlet (στεφάνη); other articles of finery were long ὅρμοι (necklaces), ἕλικες (spiral brooches), and ἔρματα (earrings). In general both men's and women's garments would seem to have been not purely white, but in great part coloured. In any case, in their simplicity they contrasted favourably with the eccentric fashions and toilettes seen on Mycenaean and Cretan monuments of a much earlier date. Men and women wore sandals (πέδιλα), and the head, even in the open air, was generally left uncovered.

Food. Every reader of Homer is familiar with the mighty banquets, at which meat roasted on the spit and bread (σῖτος), handed round in little wicker baskets, were consumed in great quantities, while the herald poured wine freely diluted into goblets. Nevertheless, it would not be correct to assume from this that the chief food of the people was meat; the poet only considered it right that his kings should always eat "roast meat." The diet of the people, as still to-day in the South, seems to have been predominantly vegetarian. Fish also, which the heroes despise, was a favourite article of food, as is evident from the similes in which angling is described. Besides breakfast (ἄριστον) there were two other meals: midday dinner (δεῖπνον), the chief meal, and supper (δόρπον). People helped themselves with their fingers, which rendered it necessary to wash the hands before a meal.

Military Affairs. The *Iliad*, so full of battles, apparently gives us exhaustive information on military matters. But when examined more closely the picture is seen not to be uniform; here also different stages of development combine to form a unity that is not always consistent.

Arms and Armour. In the earliest times the skin of an animal hung round the body served as a protection, the club and bow as offensive weapons. Thus Heracles appears still represented in art; but the aegis also, borne by Zeus and Athene, is properly, as its name denotes, a goatskin. In Homer only the light-armed troops, especially the bowmen, still wear this covering.

Mycenaean monuments show the warrior armed with the lance and the great cylindrically curved, tower-like shield (σάκος ἠύτε πύργος) of the *Iliad*,[1] carried only by the kings, especially Telamonian Ajax. Consisting of several layers of ox-hide covered outside with bronze, with an ornamental boss (ὀμφαλός) in the centre, it protected the whole body from the neck down to the legs, and required special skill to wield it. It hung on a belt (τελαμών) over the left shoulder, and was so heavy that it was impossible, even unnecessary, to wear a cuirass (θώρηξ). On this point, however, Homer was no longer able to express a definite opinion, since in his time the smaller, round arm-shield (ἀσπίς) in combination with the cuirass had been for a long time in use, as we have to assume in the case of the ordinary soldier.

The *war-chariot* (ἅρμα), introduced from the East, is rarely made use of any longer in actual battle in Homer, but only serves the leaders with their heavy shield as a means of locomotion. It was two-wheeled and drawn by two horses; on the round seat called δίφρος sat the hero and his charioteer (ἡνιοχεύς). The yoke (ζυγόν) was elevated in front on the pole (ῥυμός) and lay on the neck of the horses, which were attached by it to the chariot, instead of by traces.

Riding on horseback is known to the poet, but is nevertheless entirely absent from the Homeric battle-picture; certain terms and expressions (ἱππότης, ἱππῆες, ἀφ' ἵππων ἀποβάντες), apparently pointing to its employment, refer only to the ἅρμα.

The helmet (κόρυς, τρυφάλεια, πήληξ) was originally a skin cap (κυνέη). In Homer it is not seldom made of leather with metal bosses (φάλαρα), but is frequently of metal and is adorned with a horsehair plume (λόφος). The cuirass (θώρηξ) generally consisted of stout leather, covered with strips of metal; the lower part of the body was covered by the leather waist-cloth (ζῶμα) attached to the breastplate. During the Mycenaean period only the lower part of the body was protected by a girdle (μίτρη) of leather and bronze, lined with wool. The greaves (κνημῖδες), in the oldest times only leather gaiters, were made of tin, and were fastened below the knee and above the ankle by thongs or straps (ἐπισφύρια).

Offensive Weapons. These were the lance and sword. Hardly any except a few individual good shots (Paris, Pandarus) still use the bow. The lance (ἔγχος, αἰχμή), used for hurling and thrusting, was about six feet long; the shaft (δόρυ, μελίη) was of wood, with a bronze point (αἰχμή). The bronze sword (ξίφος, φάσγανον) was long, double-edged, and used more for cutting than thrusting. The hilt (κώπη) was often studded with silver nails (ἀργυρόηλος) or otherwise decorated, as also was the scabbard (κουλεόν). The sword was attached to the left side by a belt (τελαμών, ἀορτήρ) which passed over the right shoulder; a dagger or short sabre (μάχαιρα) was also worn by the side of it.

The bow (τόξον) was made of horn; the string (νευρή), only attached at one end, was drawn tight before use and fastened on a tip (κορώνη) at the other end, which required considerable strength (*cf.* the bow of Odysseus). The arrows (ὀϊστός, ἰός) were made of reed (δόναξ) with a metal tip, and were kept in the quiver (φαρέτρη). The use of poisoned arrows (*cf.* the arrows of Heracles) was still known, but was considered barbarous.

Battle. The nucleus of the army, as in classical times, was the heavy-armed

[1] vii, 219.

hoplites ; the light-armed infantry (πεζοί) played a subordinate part. After sacrifice and prayer the troops, several files deep, were drawn up in long, straight lines (στίχες). Before them stood the commanders in their chariots, but there was no idea of a uniform direction of the engagement ; for as soon as the lines closed up and charged a hand-to-hand struggle began, unless it was preceded by duels. Yet these mass engagements never led to a decision ; this was brought about by *duels* between the leaders (πρόμοι, πρόμαχοι), at which their men looked on with lively excitement, as a rule without taking any part. The poet's sympathies are reserved almost entirely for these leaders. The heroes spring from their chariots and, having challenged each other in provocative language, carefully cover themselves with their shields and advance to the attack, waiting for the most favourable opportunity for hurling the lance. When the supply of lances is exhausted they pick up huge stones, and finally a sword-fight takes place at close quarters. When a great hero has fallen, a bitter struggle *en masse* develops for the possession of his body and equipment, which it is a matter of honour for his countrymen to save from the enemy.

Navigation. The coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, with their deeply indented bays and islands fronting them, from the earliest times led the Greeks out on to the sea. Nevertheless, even in later times, the ancients still rightly felt it to be a rash venture to trust themselves to the mercy of the stormy waves on a fragile vessel.[1] The bold voyages of discovery and trade, undertaken in particular by the Ionians of Asia Minor in emulation of the Phoenicians, already find their deposit in legend (*Odyssey*, Argonauts), which, however, is as yet unable to give any information about naval engagements ; even the great Achaean fleet before Troy only serves to transport the army, not for fighting. But in spite of their small compass as contrasted with the ideas of modern times the ships were durable and well adapted for this purpose.

The keel (τροπίς), which at the same time formed the backbone of the ship, ran out fore and aft into the στεῖρα (cutwater), which was curved upward and decorated ; hence the ships were called 'curved' (κορωνίδες) and 'tailed at both ends' (ἀμφιέλισσαι). From the keel-timbers there projected right and left the ship's ribs or balks (δρύοχοι), curved outward, on which the planks (πίνακες) of the ship's wall were nailed. Above, the ends of the ribs were fastened by cross-beams, which gave firm support to the body of the ship and at the same time served as rowing benches. On these sat the oarsmen, about fifty in number, and handled the oars (ἐρετμοί), which were fastened to the thwarts (κληίς, whence ναῦς πολυκληίς) with leather thongs. The helmsman sat in a raised seat on the poop, from which he managed the helm (πηδάλιον, οἰήιον). Only the prow (πρῴρη) and stern (πρύμνα) had decks (ἴκρια). The ship's body was painted red or blue (μιλτοπάρῃος, κυανόπρῳρος) on the bows.

The mast (ἱστός), the trunk of a pine-tree, rested in the mast-step (ἱστοπέδη), and could be lowered aft so that it lay on the ἱστοδόκη (crutch) on the poop. When it was hauled up, two forestays (πρότονοι), stretched from the top of the mast to the bows, kept it in position. The single yard (ἐπίκριον) was drawn up with the sail (ἱστίον) to the masthead

[1] See Sophocles, *Antigone*, 334 ff. ; Horace, *Odes*, i, 3, 9 ff.

by means of a strong cable (ἐπίτονος, backstay), which ran from the top toward the poop and was there made fast. In the same place there ran from the ends of the yard the two braces (ὑπέραι), by which the sail was trimmed according to the wind ; the lower corners of the sail were drawn tightly on to the sheets (πόδες) or could be held loose.

Instead of anchors, heavy stones (εὐναί), which were sunk attached to hawsers, were used in open water. On land a ship was kept fast by mooring-cables (πείσματα, πρυμνήσια), which were passed through the holed stones (λίθοι τρητοί) made ready in the harbour for the purpose. Before Troy the ships had of course been drawn up on land and made safe by shores (ἔρματα, large stones or beams of wood). Long poles (κοντοί) were used to guide the ship to land or to push off.

Boats are not mentioned. The raft (σχεδίη) which Odysseus fashioned for himself in four days was constructed of beams placed close together side by side. Each consisted of four straight pieces of timber, hammered together with clamps (ἁρμονίαι) and bolts (γόμφοι), the two lower of which formed an obtuse angle, while the other two rose perpendicularly on their ends. From the outside he nailed long boards over the vessel, and then furnished it with sail and steering-gear.[1]

HESIOD

After the Dorian migration, restricted conditions among the small citizens prevailed in the motherland. These gave rise to *didactic* poetry, which, although it makes use of the Homeric hexameter, deliberately sets itself in opposition to the Ionic heroic poetry. Its birthplace was the Boeotian Ascra, on Mount Helicon, and its creator Hesiod (*c.* 700), whom the Muses themselves had consecrated to the service of poetry. In his *Works and Days* (Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι) he addressed warnings and rebukes to his idle brother Perses, with whom he had quarrelled. The poem describes, in unvarnished and truthful language, the hard-working life of the small citizen-farmers. It gives hints for agriculture at different seasons and also for navigation, and preaches a sober but sound and pious practical wisdom, illustrated by excellent moral maxims. It contains the famous verses (289–292) :

τῆς ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.[2]

Of the myths introduced, the Pandora legend and the story of the four ages of the world, later also handled by Ovid, appear for the first time.

In the *Theogony* (Θεογονία) Hesiod attempted to collect and arrange the numerous legends of the origin of the universe from chaos, and of the battles between the families of the gods and the powers of nature, down to the establishment of a settled order of the world by Olympian Zeus (p. 130).

[1 See note on p. 34.—Tr.]

[2] "In front of virtue the immortal gods have placed the sweat of the brow ; long and steep is the path to it and rough at first, but when thou hast reached the top, then truly it is easy, difficult though it be."

LYRIC POETRY

Popular songs, inartistic, but at all events marked by adherence to set forms of expression, sung at work and festivals of all kinds, are already found in Homer.

But a real lyric (so called from the seven-stringed lyre), which gives utterance to the subjective feelings of the individual man, could not come into being until his personality had risen above the level of his fellow-countrymen by a display of vigour in civil strife and war, as well as in dangerous trade voyages. This was the case in the Ionian and Aeolian colonies during the seventh century. A surprising number of new metres and strophes adapted for singing and well fitted to express the most varied moods and feelings gradually developed at that time. Unfortunately, the older lyric is only preserved in scanty fragments (and Roman imitations), which, however, have been most agreeably enriched by recent papyrus finds.

Elegy and Epigram. The metre of these, the elegiac distich, combines the dactylic pentameter with the epic hexameter to form a small strophe. Originating in Ionia, in later times also it adhered to Ionic forms of speech. First, **Callinus** of Ephesus (*c.* 660) is said to have summoned his countrymen to battle in his elegies; **Tyrtaeus**, during the Second Messenian War (*c.* 640), did the same in Sparta. The warlike character of the Spartans, their bravery, love of battle, and military skill, found vigorous expression in his poems:

Τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.[1]

Solon also, in a famous elegy, had called upon the Athenians to reconquer Salamis; but after his legislation (594) he set forth, in elegiac and iambic verse, the moderate principles by which he had been guided in ordering the State, and endeavoured to educate his Athenians to political sagacity and an intelligent conduct of life. He continued to write verses to an advanced age: *γηράσκω δ' ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.*[2] The chief representative of this 'gnomic elegy' was **Theognis** of Megara (*c.* 540), who, a violent party man in contrast to Solon, recklessly champions his aristocratic view of life. It was a favourite practice to sing such didactic elegies at banquets to the accompaniment of the flute. The love elegy also, which in later times was especially cultivated by Alexandrians and Romans, had already been created in the sixth century by the Ionian **Mimnermus** (*c.* 620) in Asia Minor.

In the seventh century the short verse 'inscriptions' (by preference in the form of distichs) on tombs, votive offerings, etc., began to be written. These

[1] "For it is noble for a brave man to die fighting among the foremost in defence of his country."

[2] "I am growing old, while ever learning something new."

epigrams were at first simple and artless like the famous epitaph on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae (480) :

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.[1]

But in the hands of important poets such as Simonides (p. 41) the epigram became a clever play of wit and intelligence, and has maintained its place in the literature of the world to our own times. Most of the Greek poets and thinkers composed epigrams, which in many cases, it is true, ceased to be actual 'inscriptions.' Thousands have been preserved for us on stones and in subsequently compiled anthologies.

IAMBIC POETRY most closely resembles in form and expression ordinary colloquial language. Hence it is best adapted to the description of actual life, which easily passes into a satire upon human follies. **Archilochus** of Paros (*c.* 650) gave this direction to his iambics. With furious ridicule he pursued, for example, Lycambes, to whose daughter he had been betrothed. But this passionate man, who led a wandering life as a soldier of fortune and a mercenary and finally fell in battle, was equally pitiless in the revelation of his own feelings. As a highly gifted renovator of poetry, who also composed elegies and invented epodes (*cf.* Horace) and other strophes, he was even compared with Homer. His successor in passionate personal satire was **Hipponax** of Ephesus (*c.* 540). He formed the 'halting' iambus (χωλίαμβος) from the iambic trimeter by changing the last iambus (⏑ –) into a trochee (– ⏑). Later, Babrius (*c.* A.D. 100) translated into this metre the old animal-fables of Aesop, who most probably lived in Samos in the sixth century B.C.

MELIC POETRY (μέλος, song). The song was always sung, and to the accompaniment of the four-stringed cithara ; as yet there was no lyric poetry for reading. We are almost entirely indebted to the four-lined *scolia* (drinking-songs) for an idea of the popular songs—*e.g.*, the Athenian song of liberty, in praise of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The artistic song, in the Aeolic dialect, was developed about 600 in the island of Lesbos by Alcaeus and Sappho, after whom the logaoedic (λόγος, prose, ἀοιδή, verse—*i.e.*, partaking of the nature of both) strophes, well known from Horace, are named. **Alcaeus**, as an aristocrat, fought with sword and song against the tyrant Myrsilus, who subjugated his native city Mytilene. He sang the praises of wine as "banishing care" and of love. But the vigour and freshness of his songs was even surpassed by the art of his country-woman **Sappho**, "the tenth Muse." In her "home of the servant of the Muses," as she called her house, she instructed young women of distinction in music and singing, and devoted herself to them with passionate enthusiasm. With a frankness hitherto unheard of—which later gave rise to silly fictions—she revealed the most secret feelings of a woman's heart. Her love-songs combined tenderness, warmth of feeling, and a fine sense of nature with a graceful form. Her wedding-songs (ὑμέναιοι, ἐπιθαλάμια) often showed roguish humour.

[1] "O stranger, tell the Lacedaemonians that we lie here in obedience to their command."

FIG 8. THESEUS WITH AMPHITRITE : CUP BY EUPHRONIUS
Paris. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Plate 5.
[See pp. 41 and 213.]

Full of confidence, almost intimately she ventures in the famous ode to apply to Aphrodite, who comes down herself from heaven in her car, to still the pangs of love. Longingly she looks across to the mainland, where her friend, there wedded, now tarries among the women of Lydia, as the rosy-fingered full moon outshines all the stars when it sheds its light over the briny sea and the fields decked with flowers. How beautiful is her comparison of one who has wedded late with the ripe apple on the highest bough, which the apple-gatherers have forgotten—nay, they had not forgotten it; it was only that they could not reach it. Anxious love for her own people is shown in the warmth of feeling in the prayer to the Nereids, begging them to send home her brother safe and sound from afar, to whom the sister's heart goes out, although he has many failures to atone for.

The Ionian **Anacreon** of Teos, who lived at the Courts of the tyrants Polycrates of Samos (*c.* 530) and Hipparchus of Athens, followed closely in the footsteps of these Aeolians, but without coming up to them. He also sang the praises of love in passionate songs perfect in form. But the *Anacreontea*, on which his fame long rested, are now recognized as late, trifling imitations of his art; for in them the little Loves already carry on their mischievous games which we admire in Pompeian wall-paintings, and to which we owe the charming infant cherubs and little angels of the Renaissance.

The Dorian CHORAL LYRIC, which also had its origin in Lesbos, was first developed in Sparta, which otherwise plays no part in literature. The songs, artistically divided into strophe, antistrophe, and epode, were sung by dancing choirs to the accompaniment of the cithara or flute. They comprised hymns; paeans in honour of Apollo; dithyrambs in honour of Dionysus; parthenia, sung by maidens; epinikia, in honour of the victors at the competitive games; bridal songs; and dirges sung at funeral feasts.

The fame of the older representatives of this choral lyric written in the Doric dialect, **Arion** (*c.* 600) and **Ibycus** (*c.* 530), has been preserved by the legends familiar to everybody. **Stesichorus**, who lived *c.* 600 in Sicily, the forerunner of the tragedians, transformed the subjects of epos into effective choral songs. **Simonides** of Ceos (556–468) was a shrewd man of the world, the author of many witty, widely circulated sayings, and a versatile poet. Some specimens of his work that have been preserved (especially the heartfelt lament of Danaë, who, shut up in a gloomy chest with her little son Perseus, is driven over the stormy sea) give a very favourable idea of his art. Eighteen poems by his nephew **Bacchylides** have been found (1897) in an Egyptian papyrus. Together with epinikia they furnish us with the first examples of complete songs to be sung at festivals of the gods which recount incidents from heroic legend in ballad-style. Thus, in the "Diver" he describes how the youthful Theseus, while on his way to Crete to prove to Minos his descent from Poseidon, springs into the sea and brings up the wreath given him by Amphitrite (Fig. 8). His poems no doubt lack depth, but are pleasing and written in language easy to understand. But the most famous lyric poet was **Pindar** (518–442) of Thebes, an aristocrat full of high-born ideas and deep moral earnestness. He was the last representative of the gradually disappearing high moral tone

FIG. 9. HEAD OF A VICTORIOUS BOXER FROM OLYMPIA

Bronze. An original work from the school of Lysippus. The nose and ears are disfigured by blows from the fist.

Olympia. From *Olympia: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, iv, Plate 2.

of the nobles, and, although a Theban, sang of the victories of Athens over the Persians. We possess forty-four of his epinikia; several paeans and parthenia have also been recently discovered. In Pindar's epinikia the praise of the victor in a chariot-race, running, or boxing (Fig. 9) is combined with a eulogy of his native town or the locality of the festival, scenes from heroic legend thrown into vigorous lyric form, and elevated maxims. The result is a highly artistic whole, though sometimes artificially put together, the effect of which, owing to the exaggerated importance attached to bodily strength and dexterity, is apt to appear strange. But undoubtedly Pindar fulfilled the highest vocation of the poet—to elevate his people and guide them to piety and a noble practical wisdom; but the high flight of his ideas, his bold metaphors, and the frequent obscurity of his language unfortunately make it difficult to understand his poems.

THE DRAMA

Drama (from δρᾶν, to act) is the representation of a sacred story, of a myth, which, in contrast to epos and lyric, is introduced as actually taking place (*cf.* the mystery plays of the Middle Ages and the Passion plays at Ober-Ammergau). It had its origin in the ardent desire of man to rise above himself in an elevated or unrestrained frame of mind and, by means of imitation (μίμησις, mimicry), to assume the personality of others. Its development took place at the end of the sixth and during the fifth century, in Attica. The representations formed a constituent part of the festivals of

Dionysus, and were consequently always given on such occasions. The cult of Dionysus, the god of vegetation, put his worshippers into a state of enthusiastic ecstasy or unrestrained merriment. The two classes of drama correspond to these conditions: tragedy (τραγῳδία), literally the song of the goats (τράγοι)—*i.e.*, the chorus dressed as satyrs, who always retained this costume in the *satyric drama* introduced from Peloponnesus, the burlesque afterpiece of the serious tragedies; and comedy (κωμῳδία), properly the song of the exuberant revellers who took part in the joyful processions in honour of Dionysus.

TRAGEDY

According to Aristotle, tragedy started from the "chief singers of the dithyrambs" (p. 41), which were sung by a chorus dancing round the altar of Dionysus. **Thespis** (in the time of Peisistratus, 534), using conversational language, first confronted this singing chorus as a speaking actor (ὑποκριτής, from ὑποκρίνεσθαι, to answer), who was enabled to play different parts by a change of costume. These older tragedies, in which the choral songs predominated, must have created rather the impression of cantatas. The development of the 'drama' proper was completed by the addition of a second actor by Aeschylus, and later of a third by Sophocles. For this alone rendered possible the actual representation of an action which was founded upon presupposed materials (the preliminary story), and then developed out of the characters of the performers. As a result, we find the dialogue portions of the drama steadily increasing, while the choral songs to the same extent retire into the background, until finally in Euripides they have little more significance than a musical interlude. The continued presence of the chorus and the whole arrangement of the theatre compel unity of place and time.

Fully developed tragedy thus consists of the following parts. After the introductory scene, the prologue (πρόλογος), the chorus enters the orchestra, singing the entrance song (πάροδος). Then follow in regular alternation the single acts (ἐπεισόδια, 'episodes,' so called from the dialogue parts 'coming in upon' the chorus) and the standing songs (στάσιμα), sung by the chorus in position. The final scenes after the last stasimon form the last act (ἔξοδος). To express passionate excitement a kommos (from κόπτειν, to beat the breast and forehead as a sign of grief), an excited lament, sung alternately by actors and chorus, frequently took the place of an episode. Later, lyric solos (μονῳδίαι), delivered by the actors alone, were introduced for the same purpose. The actors speak Attic in the conversational metre of the iambic trimeter, the origin of the iambic pentameters of the modern verse tragedy, but in an elevated frame of mind trochaic tetrameters are not infrequently employed. In the choral songs and kommoi the developed strophes of the Doric choral lyric are used, which accounts for the Doric colouring of their language (p. 41).

The devotional character of the plays made it a condition that the materials

up to the last should be taken exclusively from heroic legend; hence the tragic writers were obliged to attempt to obtain from these same materials ever new motives and points of view. But in the end this obligation had a cramping and paralysing effect. It is true that **Phrynichus,** an older contemporary of Aeschylus, ventured to treat of events taken from contemporary history. In the *Capture of Miletus* he described the taking of the city by the Persians in the Ionic revolt (494), and in the *Phoenissae* the impression produced by the battle of Salamis at the Persian Court; but his imitators were few and far between.

The number of tragic poets and their productive power were considerable; we know the titles of about six hundred pieces. Thirty-two dramas, of Aeschylus (seven), Sophocles (seven, now eight), and Euripides (eighteen), besides hundreds of larger and smaller fragments, have been preserved. These three poets, although their lifetime only covers a period of a hundred and twenty years, are radically different in character and in their dramas; they embody to a certain extent the rise, the prime, and the decline of the Attic empire, whose intellectual development found its poetical culminating point in tragedy.

Aeschylus (*c.* 525–456) came from Eleusis, the seat of the very ancient, mysterious cult of Demeter. During his lifetime he took part in the Persian wars (μαραθωνομάχος) and died soon after the production of his *Oresteia* during his second stay in Sicily.

He is the real creator of tragedy: we can trace in his dramas how the dialogue gradually expands and action, at first insignificant, becomes the chief thing. He also took care that the lofty character of his heroes was expressed by means of appropriate masks and imposing costume, and did much to improve the stage arrangements. He was fond of combining three pieces which were represented one after the other into an internally connected trilogy, and this, in the only extant example, the *Oresteia,* brings into relief the three culminating points of a story. His example was not followed by Sophocles and Euripides.

Plays: *The Suppliants*; *The Persians* (472); *The Seven against Thebes* (467); *Prometheus Bound*; *The Oresteia* (458)—*Agamemnon, Choephori, Eumenides.*

The Persians may be set down as the model of a patriotic festival play, free from all vaingloriousness. It describes the terrible impression made by the defeats of the Persians at the Court of Queen Atossa, and thereby indirectly proves the greatness of the victories. The battle of Salamis (in which Aeschylus himself had fought) is most vividly narrated by the messenger who brings news of the disaster. *Prometheus Bound* is the only extant tragedy dealing with the gods. The benefactor of mankind is chained to a rock in the desert for having brought them fire and with it all civilization, but even in bonds he defies the gods. The bold Titan (who, it is true, in the following play of Aeschylus, *Prometheus Unbound,* resigned himself to the new order of the world) has become a favourite symbolical figure in modern poetry and art. *The Oresteia* tells the story of guilt, revenge, and expiation in the curse-laden family of the Atridae. In the *Agamemnon* the war-lord, who has returned home from Troy victorious, is murdered by his adulterous wife Clytemnestra. In the *Choephori* (so called from the maidens who together with Electra offer libations at the tomb of Agamemnon) Orestes, returning from a foreign

land, takes vengeance on Clytemnestra and her cowardly paramour Aegisthus for the murder of his father. Although he only carried out the deed against his will at the command of Apollo, the Erinyes (Furies) gain power over the matricide. In the *Eumenides* Orestes seeks protection against them from Apollo at Delphi. The god directs him to Athens, and in person pleads his cause before the court of Areiopagus then instituted by Athene for the trial of homicide. Orestes is acquitted ; at the same time a successful attempt is made to appease the enraged goddesses of vengeance, who are established on the hill of Ares as dispensers of blessings (Eumenides, " the Kindly ").

Aeschylus, poet, composer, stage-manager, and actor in one, is the most important Greek tragedian. With deep earnestness he reflects upon the moral worth of the old myths, yet not without criticizing them. In the end he reaches an enlightened knowledge of God, filled with the belief that a fixed government of the world guides the destinies of mortals in accordance with eternal laws, whether they lift him up or involve him in a load of guilt through a curse that lies heavy on the race. Aeschylus is fond of lofty themes, the treatment of which is carried out in a simple, straightforward course of action. His language also, glowing with Dionysian enthusiasm, is bold, figurative, and elevated, and for this reason appeared bombastic to later generations.

Sophocles (496–406) was born in the village of Colonus. As a youth he led the chorus which sang the paean of victory after the battle of Salamis. When a man he served his country on several occasions in important official positions (*e.g.*, in 441 as strategus). He was a friend of Pericles and Herodotus. From the time of his first tragic victory over Aeschylus (468) he held possession of the stage for sixty years as the favourite of the public. A kindly fate took him away just before his country was occupied by its enemies.

Himself an amiable, consistent nature, highly gifted and carefully educated, Sophocles gave tragedy harmonious perfection both within and without. His tragedies are classical, since in them he attained that complete accord of form and content which Aeschylus had not yet reached and Euripides in turn lost. He composed only single plays, to which, however, he gave a richer, logically constructed, and thrilling action, which grows out of the finely studied and sharply marked characters of his heroes. The immortal value of his tragedies, which even at the present day achieve a powerful effect when acted, rests upon their psychological depth and the universally human conflicts which he sets before our eyes in the garb of legend. In regard to this it is to be observed that this psychological development does not always find its completion (as in the *King Oedipus*) in the chief character, but in several cases in a subordinate part, *e.g.*, in Creon in the *Antigone*, and in the young Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes*.

Filled with genuine piety, Sophocles directly feels the government of the divine powers who lift man up or overthrow him without his being able to offer resistance. Hence humble submission to their will is the only thing that avails him. The beautiful choral odes lend expression, reflecting different moods, to the feelings which the course of the action calls forth in the spectators.

FIG. 10. SOPHOCLES

Marble. The bronze original was no doubt one of the statues of honour which the orator Lycurgus caused to be erected *c.* 330 B.C. to the three great tragedians in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. Rome, Lateran. From a photograph.

PLAYS: *King Oedipus* (*c.* 425); *Oedipus at Colonus*; *Antigone* (442); *Ajax*; *Electra*; *The Trachinian Women*; *Philoctetes* (409).

The three Theban tragedies form a unity only in regard to the matter, and are composed at different times. *King Oedipus* is the ancient model tragedy, constructed most artistically and terribly effective, and at the same time the often misunderstood original of the modern tragedy of fate (*cf.* Schiller's *Bride of Messina*). Oedipus, exposed when a child and brought up in Corinth, later, without knowing it, has killed his father Laius, and at Thebes, having solved the riddle of the Sphinx, has wedded his own mother in the person of the widowed Queen Jocasta. After a prosperous reign of many years the outbreak of a pestilence leads to inquiries as to the murderer of Laius. The poet now describes, in most moving language, how the idea that he himself may be the murderer, at first rejected with indignation by Oedipus, gradually gains the mastery over him, and finally becomes a terrible certainty at the very moment which reveals to him the secret of his origin that has long lain heavily upon him. Jocasta, who has in vain endeavoured to prevent the disclosure, kills herself; Oedipus puts out his eyes and demands, as a murderer, to be expelled from the city. At an advanced age Sophocles composed his *Oedipus at Colonus*, describing the final scenes of reconciliation to the gods. The curse-laden old man, who though innocent has suffered so much, after long wandering, faithfully guided by his daughter Antigone, arrives at Colonus, where he is received by Theseus. The gods themselves announce to him the end of his sufferings. In the grove of the

Eumenides he is mysteriously removed from earth, and his grave becomes the home of blessing for hospitable Athens. In this piece Sophocles introduced the famous ode in praise of his native village. When later, in the War of the Seven against Thebes, Eteocles and Polyneices, the sons of Oedipus, had fallen in single combat, the new King Creon in the *Antigone* forbids the burial of Polyneices, the enemy of his country. In defiance of her uncle, Antigone renders the last honours to her brother. For this she is shut up alive in a sepulchral vault by Creon, although his own son Haemon, her betrothed, convincingly justifies her act. When at last, deeply moved by the prophecy of the seer Teiresias, Creon would make amends for his offence he arrives too late, for Antigone has hanged herself with her veil. Haemon kills himself beside her dead body, and his mother Eurydice stabs herself from grief at the loss of her son. So Creon remains behind as "one whose life is but as death," who recognizes too late that the human sovereign's command, if it violates the eternal unwritten laws of the gods, is vain and criminal.

The *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* belong to the Trojan cycle of legends. The mighty Telamonian Ajax, whose honour has been sorely wounded, desires to wreak his vengeance on the Atridae, who have awarded the arms and armour of Achilles not to himself, but to Odysseus. But Athene drives him to madness, so that instead of the Achaeans he slaughters their flocks. Restored to his senses, he falls on his sword from shame. His body, however, is honourably buried in spite of the prohibition of the Atridae, since his adversary Odysseus unexpectedly comes forward as his defender. Philoctetes, in the play of that name, afflicted with an incurable wound, has been left behind alone on Lemnos by the Greeks on their journey to Troy. Odysseus, accompanied by Neoptolemus, the young son of Achilles, is sent to fetch him to Troy, which cannot be conquered without the bow of Heracles which is in his possession. Against his inclination Neoptolemus allows himself to be prevailed upon to worm himself craftily into the confidence of Philoctetes, and obtains possession of his bow. But when he sees the suffering of the patient Philoctetes, regardless of the consequences, he reveals the truth to him. Yet it is not until the appearance of Heracles (as a *deus ex machina* after the manner of Euripides) that the inflexible Philoctetes can be induced to journey to Troy.

The *Electra* treats the same material as the *Choephori* of Aeschylus (p. 44), but Sophocles has made Electra the central figure. Owing to her mother's act of murder and the ill-treatment which she is obliged to endure at her hands, she is filled with an implacable hatred for Clytemnestra, which most harshly finds expression when the latter is being murdered by Orestes. Similarly, in *The Trachinian Women* the prominent figure is a noble woman, the wife of Heracles, who out of jealousy, in order to secure his affection by a love-charm, unsuspectingly prepares his destruction.

A satyric drama (p. 43) by Sophocles, *The Trackers* (*Ἰχνευταί*), has been recently discovered. It describes most amusingly how the half-animal satyrs who form the chorus get on the track of the theft which the infant Hermes, just born, has perpetrated by stealing the cattle of his brother Apollo.

EURIPIDES (480–406) lived in retirement, devoted to his studies and his art, without taking any part in public life. He died at the Court of the Macedonian King Archelaus at Pella. He only slowly succeeded in gaining the favour of his Athenian countrymen; all the greater has been his influence on posterity.

He was an introspective, brooding character, a deep thinker, and an enthusiastic follower of the philosopher Anaxagoras and the Sophists (p. 108). Hence, as "the philosopher of the stage," he preached the sophistical 'enlightenment' in his tragedies. A shrewd judge of the human soul, especially of a woman's heart, he describes with inexorable realism "human beings as

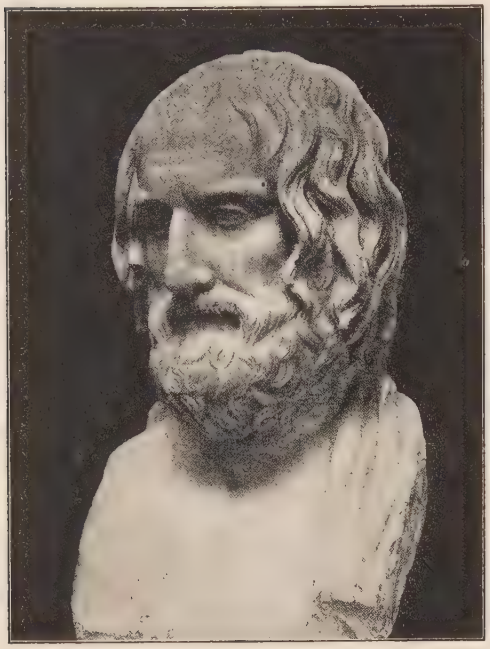


FIG. 11. EURIPIDES
Marble bust.
Naples. From a photograph.

they really are," with all their errors and passions. The Athenians felt with surprise that the figures of heroic legend were thereby brought down to the level of everyday life ; but it was only in this manner that the poet could breathe fresh life into them. He also sought to surprise and to move the audience by the employment of out-of-the-way and romantic materials which did not always demand a tragic issue, by heaping action upon action, which destroyed the unity of the drama, by affecting scenes of recognition and unexpected *dénouements*. On the other hand, he gave the drama more settled forms: at the beginning a prologue, in which a hero or god related the previous story, and frequently at the end the proverbial *deus ex machina*, whose appearance, however, is in no way always limited to cutting a knot which could not be untied by human means. The choral songs serve the purpose of revealing his religious and philosophical views. So do the long speeches and verbal disputes of his heroes, which are already most artistically constructed in accordance with the recently fully developed rules of rhetoric (p. 62) and contain many sayings that are witty and true to life.

Thus Euripides broke up the legendary materials internally and approached the drama of civilian life (his Electra, for example, is married to a peasant) as developed by Menander in the New Comedy after his model. Certainly he has created some female figures which even in a modern dress still exercise a powerful effect upon us.

In the *Medea* (*cf.* Grillparzer's drama) Medea exacts a terrible revenge from her ungrateful, unprincipled husband Jason, whom she has formerly helped to gain the golden fleece, and who now faithlessly repudiates her. By her magic arts she kills his future wife, the daughter of the King of Corinth, and, to complete his destruction, slays her own children, although she loves them with all her heart (Fig. 12). The struggle between a mother's love and longing for revenge is most touchingly described. In the *Hippolytus* (*cf.* Seneca's *Phaedra* and Racine's *Phèdre*) Phaedra, the wife of Theseus, is inflamed with criminal love for her stepson Hippolytus, and when her advances are bluntly rejected she prepares a terrible end for him by slanderously accusing him to his father. Lastly, Iphigeneia. In the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* the daughter of Agamemnon is enticed into the Greek camp under the pretence that she is to be married to Achilles, there to be sacrificed to the enraged Artemis according to the declaration of Calchas. But after the

first moments of despair she rises to the magnanimous resolution to facilitate the departure of the Greeks for Troy by a voluntary death. In the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, as the priestess of Artemis, she recognizes in a stranger who has landed her brother Orestes, who can only expiate the murder of his mother by carrying off the old image of Artemis to Hellas. According to barbarian custom she is to sacrifice him on the altar, but by a cleverly devised trick she deceives King Thoas, and brother and sister take flight with the image of the goddess. But the wind drives back their ship, and they would have been in danger of cruel revenge had not the appearance of Athene saved them. In Goethe's drama the same trick is thought of, but the lie is so repugnant to Iphigeneia's conscience that she reveals the deception (*cf.* Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles) and thereby wins over the straightforward barbarian King. The contrast between the ancient and the Christian view of life has rarely been so directly revealed as in these two plays.

Attic tragedy, which unites epic and lyric elements to form a higher unity, is the ripest creation of ancient poetry and at the same time the most important for the literature of the world in its results; for it is the foundation of the drama of modern civilized nations. But a caution against measuring an ancient tragedy by the standard of modern tragic art is all the more necessary; for the Attic drama—both tragedy and comedy—is a creation quite peculiar in itself, which could only have grown up in the Athens of the fifth century.

FIG. 12. MEDEA

Section from a wall-painting at Herculaneum. Maternal love and longing for revenge are struggling for the mastery; Medea is looking at her children playing unsuspectingly.

From a photograph.

THE OLD COMEDY

From the oldest times at the town and country festivals of Dionysus and other vegetation-gods in Attica and also in Dorian Megara, Sparta, and Tarentum boisterous processions were a favourite form of amusement, in which the mummers who took part ridiculed the bystanders in bantering verse or delighted in representing droll types of character. These processions were the origin of comedy. One of its oldest writers was *Epicharmus*, who about 500 in Syracuse parodied the legends of gods and heroes and presented

FIG. 13. APULIAN VASE DE LUXE

An amphora with volutes (about 1:15), plastically ornamented with heads of Ammon and swans' necks. In imitation of stage scenery there is a palace in the centre. Below, the duel between Eteocles and Polyneices is perhaps represented; and in the centre Menoeceus, who threw himself down from the wall of Thebes.

Naples.

comic scenes and figures from everyday life, but also knew how to coin admirable aphorisms; *e.g.*,

νοῦς ὁρᾷ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει· τἆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά[1]

and

νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.[2]

But comedy, like tragedy, could only attain to full development in Athens, where the unrestricted liberty of speech under the democracy permitted even the most audacious ridicule of distinguished persons. Unfortunately we only possess eleven pieces by Aristophanes, the last and greatest poet of this older comedy. They are fantastic carnival-farces with loosely connected action, mercilessly criticizing the political and social conditions of his time. In view of their coarse jests and undisguised obscenities we must remember that women were no doubt excluded from visiting the theatre. Such productions at the time of the Peloponnesian War helped to make the people forget for a few moments the troubles of the present. Aristophanes is not afraid to scourge the vices and weaknesses of whole classes and of individuals, setting the good old times as a model before the degenerate present, nor does he even shrink from bringing the gods in burlesque form upon the stage. His wit, now cutting, now good-humoured, and his skill in mastering the language are inexhaustible. His comedies give us an extremely vivid picture of the life and doings, thoughts and feelings, of the Attic *bourgeoisie* and peasants, although maliciously distorted by exaggeration.

The Knights (424) is an attack upon the dangerous demagogue Cleon, the tanner who, as steward, has his weak, fretful master Demos (the people) entirely under his control. After a long struggle, with the aid of the brave knights, he is overthrown by an even more impudent sausage-seller, who then suddenly appears in the character of the saviour of the fatherland. *The Clouds* ridicules Socrates, whom Aristophanes erroneously makes the representative of atheism (the clouds who form the chorus being his gods) and of all pernicious sophistical artifices. In order to acquire these tricks a bankrupt citizen sends his extravagant son to Socrates as a pupil, after he himself has been driven away as quite incapable of being taught the new-fangled wisdom. But when he experiences its ruinous consequences in his own person (for the son beats the father and proves that he has the right to do so) he burns the philosopher's "thinking-shop" (φροντιστήριον) over his head. In *The Wasps* (422) Aristophanes lashes the mania for lawsuits which possesses the older citizens, who as paid jurymen (heliasts, p. 288) found a comfortable maintenance and a pleasantly exciting occupation. These dicasts, as wasps with a sharp sting,

[1] "Eye and ear reside only in the mind; all else is dumb and blind."
[2] "Be sober and remember to trust no one; these are the joints of men's minds."

form the chorus. In *The Peace*, performed in 421 shortly before the Peace of Nicias, a worthy peasant rides on a dung-beetle straight to heaven and fetches down to Athens the goddess of peace, who is shut up there. The most gifted of all Aristophanes' pieces is the fairy-comedy of *The Birds*, performed in 414 amid the anxieties of the Sicilian Expedition. Two worthy citizens, dissatisfied with Athens, wander forth and reach the home of the birds. With their assistance they found the mighty kingdom of "Cloud-cuckoo-town" (*Νεφελοκοκκυγία*) in the air, which by virtue of its position assures them the mastery over gods and men, so that all men (as to-day) are mad on flying. In *The Frogs*, performed in 405 after the death of Euripides and Sophocles, the god Dionysus himself in burlesque attire, disguised as Heracles, descends into the lower world to fetch up his favourite Euripides to earth again. But there, where in other respects things are going on just as in Athens, a heated contest has just broken out between Aeschylus and Euripides, who disputes the tragic seat of honour with the former. In the course of the contest Dionysus is convinced that not Euripides, but the old, honourable Aeschylus is the poet whom Athens needs in her sore distress.

THE STAGE

The external conditions of the Greek drama are essentially different from those of the modern theatre.

In the first place, the dramatic performances never became an everyday recreation, as they are among us. During the period of their bloom (the fifth century) they were *religious festival plays* in honour of *Dionysus* at Athens, and even in later times they preserved their character as extraordinary festivals. The Country Dionysia celebrated in December in the various demes are only taken into account for local performances; it is obvious, however, that they were the origin of the drama. It was only at the Lenaea (*Λήναια*, the festival of wine-presses, or vats) in January–February, and above all at the Great Dionysia introduced by Peisistratus (534) and celebrated in March–April by the entire population, which soon surpassed all other Athenian festivals in length and brilliancy, that the universal love of sight-seeing was satisfied.

By the side of their fundamentally religious character, which indeed also determined the matter of the drama, the important influence of the State and the competitive idea also found expression at the dramatic performances in the domain of art. At the Great Dionysia there was a contest (*ἀγών*) between the three tetralogies produced on the three days appointed for dramatic performances, each of which consisted of three tragedies and a satyric drama (p. 43), and the State assigned this 'service' (*λειτουργία*, p. 290) to three of the wealthiest citizens, who took it over on behalf of their tribe (*φύλη*). As choregi (*i.e.*, originally leaders of the chorus) they looked after the production, splendid get-up, and rehearsals of the chorus assembled round its leader (*κορυφαῖος*). In tragedy the chorus consisted of twelve, from the time of Sophocles of fifteen, but in comedy of twenty-four members (*χορευταί*). The dramatists gave in their names and offered a *new* series of plays to the archon; to each of those who were admitted by him to the competition he assigned by lot a choregus and three actors, to which number the company remained limited, even in the most flourishing days of the drama. He also

appointed the five judges or umpires. Consequently, it was not consideration for large receipts that influenced dramatic production at that time, since poets and actors drew their certainly very modest honoraria from the State. The only reward for the often considerable expenses of the choregus and the exertions of all his assistants was the crown of victory, in which the choregus, the poet, and the chief actor (*πρωταγωνιστής*) participated together with the victorious tribe, an honour which in all probability only imposed fresh expenses upon the choregus. For he was obliged to set up (p. 162) the bronze tripod adjudged to his tribe as a prize on a monumental pedestal in the street of tripods on the east side of the Acropolis. It is true that the success of new dramas before such artistic experts as the citizens of Athens implied the best critical appreciation. Every citizen, however, had free admission to the performances (p. 290).

The *structural plan* of the theatre was the result of a gradual development. Here also the simplicity of the Athenian is remarkable; for he attached so little importance to externals that it was only the force of circumstances that compelled him to advance from provisional arrangements to simple, but adequate and therefore model, solutions of the problems before him.

The oldest of the three parts of the Greek theatre was the *orchestra*, the originally circular dancing-place of the celebrants, now of a special chorus of trained singers and dancers (Fig. 14). In the centre rose the sacrificial altar of Dionysus (*θυμέλη*). When the drama was developed by an actor beginning a dialogue with the leader of the chorus (p. 43) the performer used a booth or tent (*σκηνή*, green-room) in which he changed his costume, and no doubt mounted the sacrificial table in order to be more distinctly heard. From these elements the *stage-arrangements* originated. The most important step in advance was the introduction of a wall in the background, which separated the actors while dressing from the general public, in place of the simple booth which at first represented the stage-buildings. The actors, who in outward appearance (p. 54) far surpassed the chorus, performed in front of this wall. It was not until the end of the classical period that the stone building with its decorated wall (*προσκήνιον*) and projecting side-wings took the place of the wooden stage which was erected for each performance. The considerably elevated 'speaking-place' (*λογεῖον*) for the actor, shown in the remains of theatrical buildings, did not become a permanent part of the structure until Roman times.

The comparatively simple decoration of the narrow stage (particularly with reference to *scenery*) did not altogether abandon the means of creating illusion, although, considering the want of artificial lighting, such attempts presumably cannot have been very successful. The structural palace architecture of the back wall was hidden by a perspective,[1] and revolving triangular

[1 Authorities differ as to whether the view or perspective was painted on the front of the *σκήνη*, or whether the scene, in tragedy generally the front of a king's palace with three doors, was painted on a movable screen or curtain placed in front of the back wall.—Tr.]

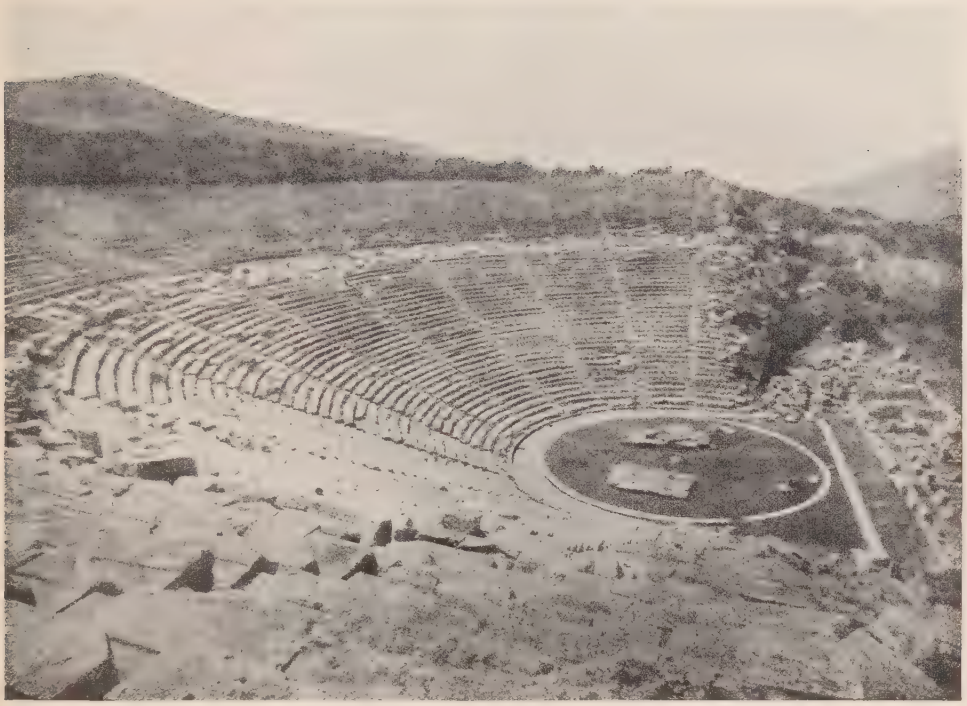


FIG. 14. THEATRE IN THE SANCTUARY OF ASCLEPIUS AT EPIDAURUS

Erected in the first half of the fourth century B.C. by the younger Polycleitus. One of the most beautiful and best-preserved Greek theatres. The orchestra forms a circle with a radius of about thirty feet; a horizontal gangway in the centre (*διάζωμα*) divides the auditorium into two rows of seats. The foundation-walls of the stage-buildings are preserved.

From a photograph.

prisms (*περίακτοι*) with scenery painted on each side represented a sort of side-scene, which could easily be changed. The most important of the other inventions of the stage mechanicians were: the Charonian stairs, intended to bring up ghosts from the underworld, and the famous machine which, like the platform for the gods (*θεολογεῖον*) high up above the stage, permitted the appearance of the still proverbial *deus ex machina* to cut the knot of the dramatic conflict (p. 48). It was endeavoured to avoid change of scene by the employment of the *ἐκκύκλημα* (a movable platform on wheels), an arrangement which allowed what was going on inside the house to be seen. The close proximity of the chorus in the orchestra to the actors forbade the use of a curtain. Similarly, the seats for the spectators (*θέατρον*, auditorium) only gradually attained the much admired arrangement of later times. It was not until near the end of the classical period that a complete stone building took the place of the unsafe wooden scaffolding which in course of time rested against the slope of the Athenian acropolis. The high stone steps afforded anything but agreeable armless seats, which the spectators made rather more

comfortable with cushions brought with them, since they were obliged to hold out from morning till evening, at least eleven hours. These gigantic stone structures could seat the whole male population of a citizen community; *e.g.*, in Athens 17,000, in Ephesus nearly 30,000. The acoustic properties, as tested to-day, are excellent. The divisions of the auditorium reflected the political and social organization of the citizens. For the stairs radiating upward broke up the auditorium into wedges (κερκίδες, cone-shaped compartments), which could be allotted to the individual tribes; but the rows separated by wide horizontal gangways (διαζώματα) corresponded to the social gradation of the citizens, as is to some extent also the case in the modern theatre. This was of special importance for post-classical times, when the theatre characteristically attracted the life of the State with its empty ostentation, announcement of honours, presentation of the ephebi, etc. Special *seats of honour* were often placed in front close to the orchestra, majestic stone chairs, intended especially for priests and high officials.

As the artistic enjoyment of the drama in ancient times first and foremost concerned the ear, not the eye, the mere thought of the multiplicity of modern costumes and the elaborately studied facial play of our great actors makes the *appearance of the ancient actor* seem mean, perhaps even singular. What strikes the modern man as remarkable is in particular the use of masks, which at least have maintained their importance for all times as a motive of decoration (see Fig. 18), although we are in the habit of forgetting that in classical times they certainly represented types of majestic beauty.

Historically, the explanation of the mask is to be found in the universal practice of masquerading and painting the face at the religious festivals of primitive peoples as well as at the gathering of the grapes among civilized nations, in which smearing with the lees of wine was a special feature. But the use of masks was also recommended by a number of practical reasons, such as the necessity of having several parts played by one person and female characters by men, as was the fixed custom in Greece, and the possibility of creating an effect at greater distances by rendering the features coarser and the addition of the funnel-shaped contrivances for increasing the resonance of the voice. Religious feelings also led to the complete effacement of the person who represented a god or hero by the part which he played in honour of the divinity. Lastly, it is in accordance with the whole tendency of Greek artistic feeling, as is clear from the treatment of the old legend in poetry and sculpture in classical times, to create not so much individualities as ideal pictures, on the grand scale of which above all the peculiar effect of Hellenic art is based. But in the case of comedy the mask rendered possible the appearance of well-known persons just as they were in the flesh, of course exaggerated by caricature.

Further, the rest of the get-up of the stage-figures arises from the endeavour to add stature and dignity to their appearance. The mask was crowned by a three-cornered headpiece (ὄγκος), over which the wig fell down. The actor's foot was covered with the κόθορνος (buskin), a thick-soled boot, originally the 'hunting-boot' of Dionysus, which is even at the present day typical of a bombastic mode of expression. The padding even to the tips of the fingers

and the old trailing dress of the god which enveloped the body correspond to these enlargements of the form. The costume of comedy was in some respects essentially different, with its eccentricities which to modern ideas appear to border upon indecency.

It is easy to understand that the entire get-up, so singular according to modern ideas, excluded brisk movements on the stage, just as in the times when art was deteriorating the clumsy appearance of the actor might be execrated as ridiculous.

In Hellenistic times musical contests were almost entirely in the hands of close *corporations*, which sent delegates to control the performances of the Greek world. In these corporations those who belonged to different communities for the first time formed a kind of state within a state; again, they embody for the first time in their close connexion the idea of the trade union. Moreover, in the place of dramatic performances we now in many instances already find professional singers, jugglers, acrobats, etc., displaying their activity; from this, what was really a kind of variety entertainment developed.

Among *the Romans* stage-plays were thrown into the shade by other kinds of festivities (p. 146). The first stone *theatre*, which took the place of the wooden structure intended for temporary use, was built by Pompey (55 B.C.). It held 40,000 spectators. The principal differences from the Greek theatre were the following. The semicircular orchestra was intended only for seats of honour; the uppermost of the tiers of seats in the auditorium were reserved for women; the stage was very wide and deep, since the chorus (when one appeared) also took its place on it by the side of the actors; the façades of the Roman stage-buildings often exhibited architectural and sculptural decorations of great magnificence; an awning was also spread over the auditorium, and a curtain was used, which was drawn up at the end of the piece. There were triangular prisms with side scenery which corresponded to the Greek περίακτοι; and the stage-scenery itself could be shifted. The number of actors corresponded to the number of parts; the mask only came later into use in Rome. As a rule the simple performance of the Greeks did not satisfy the Roman. *Entr'acte* music was usual; a showy get-up was demanded, and occasionally splendid processions, which especially in Imperial times, together with equally sumptuous pantomimes, supplanted the regular drama. Though the actors were mostly freedmen—indeed, even slaves—later they were rewarded with presents, statues, even with the rights of citizenship, and in Cicero's time a man like Roscius could command a yearly income of £5000.

In Imperial times a great Imperial union of Greek stage-artists on a Hellenistic model was formed, with Rome as its centre, which was especially patronized by Trajan and his successors, who clearly saw in it an organ of their world-embracing influence.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

THE LOGOGRAPHI. It was not before the sixth century, when the flourishing period of epic poetry was past, that books began to be written in prose (*καταλογάδην*), and again, like the epos, in Ionia. As a result, the Ionic dialect became the general literary language and remained so until toward the end of the fifth century, when Attic took its place. The oldest writers of history, the so-called *logographi*, in their 'genealogies' of distinguished families, began by rendering in prose the epic legends, which were then still accepted as historical truth. They further collected and supplemented the scanty accounts of older history and wrote histories of the foundation of cities (*κτίσεις*) and city annals. Certainly the tradition of the past was incomplete and in the highest degree untrustworthy; for most of it had been forgotten, and remarkable events in the mouth of the narrators of history (*λογοποιοί*) were rapidly transformed into legends or stories, many of which we can still read with pleasure in Herodotus. Hence the first logographer, **Hecataeus** of Miletus, who was the adviser of his fellow-citizens at the time of the Ionian revolt (500), ventured to subject tradition to a searching criticism. His *Journey round the Earth* (*Περίοδος γῆς*), based upon his own investigation, long remained one of the chief sources of geographical knowledge **Hellanicus** of Mytilene, a contemporary of Herodotus, next made the first attempt to write a short universal history, and compiled the oldest chronicle of Athens (*Ἀτθίς*).

HERODOTUS (*c.* 484–424) was born at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony in Asia Minor, but in his nature, art, and language he is more like an Ionian. As one who took part in his native city's struggle for freedom against the tyrant Lygdamis, the grandson of the well-known Artemisia, he was obliged for a time to live in exile in the Ionian island of Samos. Later he betook himself to Athens, the chief city of the great naval empire, where he lived on friendly terms with Pericles and Sophocles. Thence he emigrated to Thurii, the colony founded by Pericles in Lower Italy (Magna Graecia) in 444. He collected the material for his work in extensive travels, which led him as far as the Black Sea, to Susa, Egypt, and Cyrene.

Herodotus is anything but an historian in our sense of the word, and it is just this that gives its charm to his book. He has still much in common with the logographers—*e.g.*, the mixture of history with accounts of different lands and peoples. Nevertheless, Cicero is justified in calling him "the father of history." For he it was who first undertook to give a connected description of an important event of the recent past, the Persian Wars, which he recognized as a link in the chain of a process of development in the world's history, the struggle between Greeks and barbarians (Fig. 15).

His historical work was only later divided into nine books, named after the nine Muses. It begins: *Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ*

FIG. 15. 'PERSIAN' VASE

Apulian amphora *de luxe* from Canosa. Height, 3½ feet. In the centre row Dareius is consulting with Persians and Greeks; below, tribute is being paid to his treasurer; above, in the centre, threatened Hellas is protected by Greek divinities, while on the right Asia (seated) is allowing herself to be ensnared by Apate (Deceit). Date of origin no doubt after the first Persian battles of Alexander (about 330 B.C.).

Naples. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Plate 88. Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται.[1] He begins with the reciprocal carrying off of women during the mythical period (Io, Europa, Medea, Helen). In historical times Croesus had first subjugated the Ionian Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor. This leads to an account of the rise of the kingdom of Lydia, in which Arion's ride on the dolphin is interwoven. The fortunes of Croesus are narrated in detail (his meeting with Solon; Croesus on the funeral pile). His conquest by Cyrus, by which the Greek colonies came into the hands of the Persians, leads to the history of the Persian Empire, which henceforth forms the main thread of the story. Then follows an account of the youth of Cyrus, his conquests, and his end. His son Cambyses sets out for Egypt, to the description and history of which the whole of the second book is devoted. The third book contains the fate of Cambyses, the revolt of the Magian, and the first deeds of Dareius (also the story of the good fortune of the tyrant Polycrates of Samos). The great European expedition of Dareius against the Scythians, whose origin, land, and customs are described in detail, occupies the central portion of the fourth book.

The fifth book, in dealing with the Ionian revolt, first leads up to the cause of the expeditions against Greece, of whose history isolated portions are scattered over the first six books. The sixth book contains the first unsuccessful campaign of Mardonius, and the second under Datis and Artaphernes, with the battle of Marathon; the seventh book deals with the preparations of Xerxes, the passage of the Hellespont by a bridge of boats, the ethnographically instructive catalogue of the army and fleet, and lastly the engagements at Thermopylae. In the eighth book follow the naval engagements at Artemision, the taking of Athens, and the battle of Salamis; in the ninth the expedition of Mardonius, who had remained behind in Thessaly, into Attica and his decisive defeat at Plataea, as well as the first great Greek victory on Asiatic soil at Mycale. The taking of Sestos (478) is the last event in the not entirely completed work.

Herodotus conscientiously reports all that he has learnt by inquiry or seen himself, almost without criticism. Thus he describes the struggles for freedom not as they really took place—for at that time no one any longer possessed an accurate knowledge of the facts—but as they survived in the frequently distorted and exaggerated oral tradition half a century after the events; but he himself believes that he is telling the whole truth. Nowhere do we find in him a trace of national vanity; on the contrary, he discerns in the victories of his people a punishment inflicted by the gods on the haughty Persians and their king, who is striving after what is beyond the reach of man. For his pious view of the world still recognizes everywhere (as is the case in Homer) the power and interference of the gods, who humble those of high degree (envy of the gods), and declare their will in prophecies (hence the frequent glorification of the Delphic oracle), dreams, and omens. Thus he is still far from inquiring into the deeper causes and internal connexion of world events. He lacked the experience to describe adequately a battle or a political event. But his delightful narrative art is remarkable: with Homeric *naiveté* and vividness he reports great and small events, also speeches and conversations, as if he himself had been present.

THUCYDIDES. In the meantime Attic artistic prose began to develop, and

[1] "This is *the setting forth of the investigations* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, that neither the events that have happened may disappear from men's recollection by lapse of time, nor the great and wonderful deeds attested both among Greeks and among barbarians remain unsung."

the work of Thucydides is its first great achievement. Thucydides (*c.* 455–400), a connexion of Miltiades, was descended on the mother's side from a Thracian princess, and hence possessed property and gold-mines in Thrace. Already educated in Athens under the influence of Sophists and rhetoricians, in 424 he was banished, since, when commander of a naval squadron, he had been unable to prevent the capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas. At the very outset of the Peloponnesian War he had conceived the plan of writing a description of it, " since he expected that it would be of great importance and more memorable than any that had preceded it." [1] He now found time during his enforced leisure to collect reports from both sides and to weigh them against one another in a cool, objective spirit, and also to undertake journeys to the different theatres of war. It was not until 404 that he was allowed to return to Athens. His premature death prevented him from completing his work.

The so-called ' archaeology ' serves as an introduction, in which he describes, with great acuteness, the development of Hellenic culture from the oldest times, in order to prove that " this war " was greater than all previous ones. He then gives a detailed account of what led to the war (the quarrel between Corinth and Athens about Epidamnus-Corcyra and Potidaea). But he finds its real cause in the growing rivalry between Athens and Sparta due to the rise of the Athenian naval league. He therefore recounts its origin and increase during the Pentekontaetia (the " Fifty Years," 478–431), and thereby at the same time connects with the history of Herodotus. The conference of the Peloponnesian league at Sparta and the vote for war conclude the first book. In the second book the narrative of the war begins, chronologically arranged according to summers (campaigns) and winters. This book, containing the famous funeral oration of Pericles, which sketches the much admired ideal picture of the Athenian democracy, goes down to the death of Pericles (429) ; the third book takes us to the year 426. In the fourth book an account is given of the battles round Pylos (425) and the campaign of Brasidas, with which the battle of Amphipolis and the Peace of Nicias (421) are connected at the beginning of the fifth book. In the second part of the work, which begins with a new introduction,[2] the succeeding years of peace are characterized as a latent state of war. The sixth and seventh books contain the powerful description of the disastrous expedition of the Athenians against Syracuse (415–413). The eighth book describes the first battles on the coast of Asia Minor, but suddenly breaks off in the year 411.

Thucydides is the first real historian of the Greeks and at the same time the greatest in all antiquity ; his influence has again and again stimulated and served as a model for modern historical writing. The aim of Herodotus was to entertain the reader, that of Thucydides to instruct him by investigation of the truth. This made his work what he wished it to be : *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν.*[3]

In contrast to Herodotus he has written the history of a period during which he himself lived ; and he has done this as a statesman and general with expert knowledge of facts, and as impartially as is humanly possible. By

[1] *ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.*
[2] v, 26.
[3] " A possession for all time rather than a show-piece for the listeners of the moment."

excluding on principle everything not directly connected with the war he has given his work a strictly uniform, self-contained character. By acute criticism he has ascertained from the information, in many ways self-contradictory, collected by him the real course of events, and described them (especially the Sicilian catastrophe) with the art of a tragedian, whereas the narrative of Herodotus possesses an entirely epic charm. The speeches inserted certainly cannot lay claim to historical truth, nor are they intended to do so. Their literal reproduction, in the frame of the historical work, even if it had been possible at that time, would have offended the old, sensitive artistic feeling. Yet the desire of Thucydides was " to adhere as far as possible to the general tenor of the speeches actually delivered." At the same time, however, he introduces much that would be supplied by the modern historian in introductions, summaries, and characterization. Further, he is unremitting in his efforts to investigate the real origins and the inner connexion of events, and thereby became the creator of pragmatic historiography.[1] In his rationalistic view of the world there is no longer room for the naïve belief of Herodotus in the interference of the gods and their oracles in human affairs.

Thucydides is certainly not easy to read. The " brevity pregnant with meaning," the endeavour to find an expression as terse and appropriate as possible for his ideas, the abstract style, and the incessant change of constructions in many ways increase the difficulty of a general view and understanding of the work. As a set-off to this, we are able to observe in it the genesis of a new literary language, the aim of which is to rise above the level of everyday speech and which is still wrestling with the material.

Xenophon (*c.* 430-355), the continuator of Thucydides, was a disciple of Socrates. Induced by his friend the Boeotian Proxenus, he joined the Greek mercenary army as a volunteer, and took part in the campaign of the Younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes (401). After the defeat at Cunaxa and the treacherous arrest of the leaders by Tissaphernes, with a few other determined men he conducted the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks to the Black Sea. He then served in the army of Sparta, whose king Agesilaus he honoured and glorified as his ideal of a hero. In the battle of Coroneia (394) he even fought against his Athenian fellow-countrymen and was outlawed on that account as a traitor to his fatherland. In return, he was rewarded by the Spartans with an estate at Scillus, near Olympia, where he devoted himself to agriculture and hunting and composed most of his works. Later, expelled from there, he lived in Corinth, where he remained until he was at last allowed to return to his native land. But his son Gryllus, deeply lamented by his father, fell among the Athenian cavalry at Mantineia.

Xenophon was an amiable character, a man of practical life, a thorough soldier and sportsman, as his technical writings show, but no real historian, much less a philosopher. The many-sidedness of his literary activity is

[1 Pragmatic history is that which shows the causes, connexion, and consequences of events.—Tr.]

remarkable, the consequence being that it was characterized by breadth rather than depth, and was adapted exclusively to practical, not to scientific, aims. His view of life shows a return to the simplicity of Herodotus ; he had great respect for dreams and oracles. The clearness, the agreeable simplicity and naturalness of his language, which with full consciousness renounced the artificial devices of the new-fashioned rhetoric, were at all times justly admired.

The *Anabasis* (*Κύρου ἀνάβασις*) in the first book describes the ' going up ' of the Greeks through Asia Minor as far as the Euphrates and the battle of Cunaxa ; the remaining six books describe the retreat, carried out under great difficulties and with continual fighting, down to the sea (*κατάβασις*) at Trapezus (Trebizond) and the subsequent fortunes of the mercenaries The *Anabasis* is Xenophon's most pleasing work ; for in it he narrates his personal experiences with great freshness and clearness, while attractive descriptions of foreign lands and peoples are combined with the account of daring military deeds and adventurous journeys. Only Caesar's *Commentaries* (p. 87) can be compared in ancient literature with the *Anabasis*.

The *Hellenica* (*Ἑλληνικά*), in continuation of Thucydides, treats in the first two books of the last years of the Peloponnesian War (411–404) and in the third to the seventh carries on the history to the battle of Mantineia (362). The narrative is certainly in accordance with truth, but wanting in proportion and incomplete, while the writer's partisanship of Sparta and his dislike of Thebes are obvious.

The *Cyropaedeia* (*Κύρου παιδεία*, in eight books) professes to be a history of the great Persian King Cyrus ; in reality it is not an historical work, but a pedagogic romance ' with a purpose,' and as such remarkable. Without regard for historical truth Xenophon shows, in the person of Cyrus, how a prince should be brought up and govern.

The *Memorabilia of Socrates* (*Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους*, in four books) is a work of pious duty. As a grateful disciple Xenophon defends the memory of his teacher against accusations recently brought, by describing the work of Socrates as an educator, " how by teaching and example he was unremitting in his efforts to benefit others." The discourses of Socrates that are introduced show a complete lack of the art of the Platonic dialogues, but in substance form a valuable supplement to them. A comparison of the defence of Socrates also recorded by him with Plato's *Apology* or of the symposia described by both is equally instructive (p. 113).

After Xenophon rhetoric, as developed by Isocrates (p. 63), exercised an ever-increasing influence on the writing of history, so that the truth was only too often neglected in the endeavour to write artistically, to move, agitate, or amuse the reader. A pupil of Isocrates, **Ephorus** of Cyme in Asia Minor, first ventured on the attempt to write a *History of the World* (from the Dorian migration down to the time of Philip of Macedon).

RHETORIC AND ORATORY

Their Beginnings. Since oral methods everywhere predominated, the power of the spoken word played a part in antiquity of which we can hardly form an idea in modern times, when we read much without ceasing, but listen little. It is true that the full development of an oratory artistically correct (*τέχνη ῥητορική*) and the publication of speeches that were delivered does

not begin till the fifth century ; but even four hundred years before that time the gift of natural oratory was in a high degree characteristic of the Greeks, especially the quick and worldly-wise Ionians. This is shown by the effective speeches of Homeric heroes, such as Odysseus, Nestor, and Achilles, whom Phoenix had brought up

μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.[1]

Later, in the constitutional struggles of the growing democracy, as we are able to follow their course in Athens, speech was the only means of acquiring influence in the popular assembly and in the council, and it was only the famous oratorical powers of statesmen like Themistocles and Pericles that enabled them to guide and sway the people. The custom of delivering solemn funeral orations over those who had fallen in a year of war already existed in Athens. Further, every citizen was obliged to conduct his own case in the law-court, as there were no lawyers, but at most a private advocate (*συνήγορος*), who was allowed to assist him. Thus the later division into *three kinds of speech* was already represented : *deliberative* (*γένος συμβουλευτικόν*) in the council and the popular assembly ; *forensic* (*γένος δικανικόν*) in the law-courts, many of which were composed by a professional speech-writer (*λογογράφος*), such as Lysias and Demosthenes ; and *epideictic*, or show-speech (*γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν*), which was chiefly delivered at national festivals (*λόγος πανηγυρικός*), at funeral ceremonies (*λόγος ἐπιτάφιος*), or on other solemn occasions.

Division of the Speech. A short *introduction* (*προοίμιον*) is followed by a preliminary statement intended to create a certain frame of mind in the hearer (*προκατασκευή*). This again is followed in a deliberative speech by the statement of the subject (*πρόθεσις*), in a forensic speech by the narrative of the case in law (*διήγησις*) ; next the proofs (*πίστεις*) are thoroughly examined ; and lastly comes a conclusion (*ἐπίλογος*), made as effective as possible, which the speaker was fond of ending with words of good omen.

Rhetoric. The increasing employment of speech in public life hastened the development of an art of speech (rhetoric) with fixed rules, formulae, and model specimens, which teaching and practice would enable every one to acquire. Rhetoric was first cultivated in Sicily, where Tisias of Syracuse taught the art and tricks of forensic speech. Thence it was conveyed to Athens by the Sophist **Gorgias,** who in 427, when on an embassy from his native city Leontini, caused an enormous sensation by his lectures. Remaining in Greece, he obtained great influence as the creator of an artistic Attic prose style. By carefully selected forms of expression and poetical words, by a lavish use of metaphorical and figurative embellishment, and by a symmetrical structure of sentences he endeavoured to secure the effect of poetical language. The artificial and abrupt or staccato style of this oratory is illustrated by Plato in the speeches of his *Protagoras*. Of course, a rhetoric whose place was under the banner of sophistic (p. 108) could not restrict itself to beauty of style, but also extended to the matter. It taught the art of crippling the opponent

[1] " To be a speaker of words and a doer of deeds."

by clever grouping of facts, subtlety of argument, unsparing exploitation of all real or apparent points of attack, and even by insult and calumny ; and, if necessary, taught how to make the weaker cause the stronger (*τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*). This lawyer-like practice continually gained ground, and even men like Lysias and Demosthenes did not keep themselves free from it.

Soon, however, a healthy reaction against the unnatural ' Gorgianic ' style asserted itself. The credit of having removed its defects and created ' classical ' Greek prose belongs to the Athenian **Isocrates** (436–338), himself a pupil of the Sophists. Prevented by his timidity and weak voice from appearing in public, he opened a school, in which, for a considerable fee (1000 drachmae, about £40), he trained his pupils to become orators and gave them a comprehensive general education such as the advanced age demanded. Thus he became the most celebrated master of rhetoric. In the effort to obtain linguistic uniformity and euphony he avoided all kinds of harshness, above all hiatus (the contact of vowels at the beginning and end of words) ; he gave his expressions a rhythmical sound ; and he constructed long, well-rounded-off periods, the symmetry of which enchanted the Greeks with their fine sense of hearing. As models of his art he elaborated with infinite care political memoirs in the form of speeches for festivals and letters to distinguished men. Show-speeches such as the *Panegyricus* and *Panathenaicus*, in which he proclaims the glory of Athens, denounces the lack of union among the Greeks, and summons them to united action against the Persians, stand out predominantly.

The employment of rhetoric unfortunately by no means remained limited to speeches, but continually extended its activities until it finally obtained almost entire control of the prose composition of the Greeks and later of the Romans (Livy and Curtius Rufus), partly even of poetry (Ovid). However justifiable and worthy of imitation this endeavour of the writers to clothe their ideas in tasteful, impressive language may have been, its later effect was fatal. For writer and reader attached more importance to beauty of form than to the intrinsic value and truth of the matter contained, as is still the case at the present day with the Romance nations.

The Attic Orators. Under the protection of democratic freedom of speech (*παρρησία* = *παν-ρησία*), in the course of a single century (427–322) the practical demonstration of the art of rhetoric reached its height in Athens, until, after the loss of freedom, it also lost its decisive influence upon public life. *Ten orators*, most of whose speeches we still possess, were subsequently grouped together in a canonical list (*κανών*, rule) as standard models : **Antiphon,** who was executed in 411 after the failure of the oligarchical political revolution ; **Andocides,** who was implicated in the case of the mutilation of the Hermae in 415 ; **Lysias** (*c.* 445–380) ; **Isocrates** (436–338) ; **Isaeus** (*c.* 400–350), famous as an acute attorney in cases relating to inheritance ; **Demosthenes** (384–322) ; **Lycurgus** (*c.* 390–329), the able administrator of Athenian finances after the battle of Chaeroneia, whose patriotic

indictment of Leocrates has preserved valuable fragments of poems (*e.g.*, of those of Solon and Tyrtaeus); **Hypereides** (*c.* 390–322), the ardent supporter of Demosthenes; **Aeschines** (389–314) and **Deinarchus** (*c.* 361–291), both opponents of Demosthenes. Not all of them were distinguished as political orators and statesmen; but all of them composed forensic speeches, either on their own behalf or for others, and most of them were also teachers of rhetoric. The speeches were published, sometimes in an enlarged form, as political pamphlets or in self-justification, and frequently also to serve as models for pupils.

Lysias (*c.* 445 380) was descended from a Syracusan family. His father was persuaded by Pericles to migrate to Athens, where he had founded a shield-manufactory. Lysias with his elder brother Polemarchus then went to live in Thurii, the colony founded by Pericles in Southern Italy; here he was a pupil of the rhetorician Tisias. In 412 the two brothers returned to Athens and took over their father's manufactory. Their wealth brought upon them the envy and secret hostility of the so-called Thirty Tyrants. Polemarchus was arrested and put to death; in his speech *Against Eratosthenes* Lysias himself has given a lively account of the way in which he managed with great difficulty to escape to Megara. Owing to the energetic part he played in the restoration of the democracy Thrasybulus proposed (403), but without success, that the franchise should be conferred upon him; Lysias remained a 'privileged resident-alien' (*μέτοικος ἰσοτελής*), who was allowed to appear in court on his own business, but was excluded from taking part in State affairs.

He was thus enabled, in 403, to accuse Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty, as the 'murderer' of his brother; his speech on that occasion was the only one delivered by himself in person. All the rest—we possess thirty-five under his name—were written by him for others; for he adopted the profession of logographer, since he had lost most of his property. He brilliantly solved the difficult task of putting himself into the person of his clients and of making his speeches fit them exactly: the invalid (in the speech *Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*) who fights for his State 'relief' almost furiously, but with rude common sense, the cavalry officer Mantitheus, who cuttingly refutes the objections against his eligibility for the Council, and several others stand before us in the flesh even at the present day. At the same time we also obtain instructive and delightful glimpses of the public and private life and economic conditions of Athens. In such speeches, most of which were intended to be delivered by simple citizens, the embellishments of showy language and figures of speech were out of place. Hence Lysias created for himself that straightforward, simple style (*tenue dicendi genus*), as a master of which he enjoyed a lasting reputation. He arranges facts and evidence side by side, concisely and objectively, but in carefully considered order, and above all shows himself capable of giving a clear and vivid narrative of the case in court.

Demosthenes (384–322) was a citizen of the Attic deme of Paeania (*Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς*). When a boy he lost his father, who

owned a manufactory of arms, and his considerable property was squandered by faithless guardians. Demosthenes therefore became a pupil of Isaeus, and, when twenty years old, brought an action against them, but although they were condemned he only recovered a small part of the property. The result of the case led him to take up the calling of a logographer, which he carried on for twenty years. The success of his practice as an advocate, especially in political actions, held out to him the prospect of securing influence in the management of State affairs as a public speaker. His patriotism and his country's need urged him on, while he surmounted by tenacious perseverance the physical obstacles which rendered his appearance in the public assembly difficult. The threatening entrance of Philip of Macedon (359–336) upon the scene showed him the object of his activity, from which henceforth he was never diverted. For Philip's systematic advance on Chalcidice and against the Thracian Chersonese everywhere brought him into antagonism with the vital interests of the Athenians, whom he deceived by an appearance of readiness to meet them half-way, while his interference in the Phocian War (355–346) was the first step to the subjugation of Hellas. Demosthenes had recognized

FIG. 16. DEMOSTHENES (POLYEUCTUS)
Photographed from a plaster cast with the hands of another reproduction. The marble statue in the Vatican wrongly holds a roll of writing in its hands, thereby losing in characterization. The bronze original was set up in the Agora, Athens, in 280 B.C.

this earlier and more clearly than others, and accordingly in his *First Philippic* (351) he called upon the Athenians to offer a vigorous resistance.

It is true that the struggle was hopeless, for the dilatory and vacillating Athenian democracy was no match for the energetic and crafty King and his army, which was always ready for war and entirely devoted to its leader. Petty party quarrels made a settled conduct of State affairs with a definite aim impossible. The mass of the people were too enervated and indolent to take the field again themselves, and the mercenary leaders whom they engaged tyrannized over their employers when opportunity offered. Above all, there was a lack of money; for any administrative surplus made its way into the 'theatre fund' (τὰ θεωρικά, money given to the poorer citizens to pay for their seats), in order to satisfy the fondness of the multitude for amusement. For this reason many intelligent men, such as the Athenian general Phocion and Isocrates, advised a peaceful understanding with Philip, and this party was afterward strengthened by the statesmen who were bribed by him. The result of the conflict justified the friends of peace; but this does not affect the reputation of Demosthenes, who attempted the impossible and placed the power of his eloquence at the service of a great cause, the salvation of his country. The attacks directed against his political activity and personal character go far beyond the mark.

When Philip advanced against Olynthus (349) Demosthenes did all he could in his three *Olynthiacs* to induce the Athenians to render speedy assistance; but the city fell in 348 as the result of treachery. The desire for peace on both sides led to the disgraceful Peace of Philocrates (346). Demosthenes was twice one of the ten ambassadors who were sent first to arrange the conditions of peace with Philip and then to take the oath from him to observe it when concluded, and he was at the same time obliged to be a passive witness of the manner in which Philip again overreached the Athenians. When, after the overthrow of the Phocians, Philip was even admitted a member of the Amphictyonic League, the Athenians, now completely isolated, would have been glad to begin the war again, and Demosthenes found himself compelled to dissuade them from this foolish enterprise in his speech *On the Peace* (346).

In the following years of a doubtful peace he gradually fought his way to the leading position in the State as head of the patriotic party. With increasing anxiety he followed the extension of the power of Philip. In his *Second Philippic* (344) he warningly pointed to Philip's interference in Peloponnesian affairs. He watched him gaining ground in the Chersonese, so important for the trade of Athens, and in his speech *On Affairs in Chersonesus* (342) he supported the mercenary leader Diopeithes, who there on his own responsibility offered resistance to Philip. In the powerful *Third Philippic* (342) he finally called openly for war against Philip, whose undertakings were all directed against Athens, and demanded a common alliance of the Hellenes against the national enemy. In 339 Philip began the long-prepared

decisive struggle. In the so-called Sacred War against Amphissa he suddenly occupied Elatea, which commanded the road to Thebes and Athens. Demosthenes then encouraged the distracted Athenians and even brought about an alliance with their old enemies the Thebans, as he strikingly relates in his speech *On the Crown*. But at Chaeroneia (338), where Demosthenes took part in the battle as a simple hoplite, the allies succumbed in spite of an heroic resistance. Demosthenes was permitted to deliver the funeral oration over the fallen, and, later, was to have been crowned in the theatre for his voluntary contributions to defensive measures. But Aeschines immediately brought an accusation against the proposer, Ctesiphon, on the ground of a trifling illegality (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*). It was not until 330 that this high political suit was decided, and we still possess the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes for the prosecution and defence. Aeschines most violently attacked the entire political activity of Demosthenes, whose famous speech *On the Crown* (*Ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου*) was expanded into a comprehensive justification of this as a whole. The verdict was a brilliant triumph for Demosthenes.

But in 324 Demosthenes was involved in the disagreeable case of Harpalus. He and others were accused of having received a large sum from the military treasury of Alexander the Great, which his dishonest treasurer had brought to Athens. He was condemned, although there was no proof of his guilt. Demosthenes fled to Aegina, but was soon recalled with honour when after the death of Alexander (323) the Greek patriots rose against the Macedonian governor Antipater. But the defeat at Crannon (322) brought a sudden end to their hopes. Demosthenes escaped to the sanctuary of Poseidon in the island of Calauria, where he took poison in order to escape the agents of Antipater.

We possess under his name no fewer than sixty speeches, many of which, however, are not genuine. Besides the speech *On the Crown* the eight political orations which we have mentioned are the most important.

Demosthenes was the greatest orator of antiquity, not so much owing to natural capacity as to his tenacious industry, his deep earnestness, and his passionate enthusiasm. Behind every word of his political speeches stands the whole man, who, often disappointed, yet continually full of hope, fights for his cause, rouses the indolent, encourages the faint-hearted, and brands the traitors. With equal sureness he commands all the devices of rhetorical art. Form and matter are exactly balanced. Elaborating his speeches with the utmost care, he finds the fitting expression for every idea, the correct tone for every frame of mind; hence the abundant variety and liveliness of his language. Concise antitheses and sentences of trenchant brevity stand side by side with periods artistically put together and highly effective anacolutha. The calmness of the narrative is interrupted by questions, appeals, and asseverations, or by discussion with an assumed adversary. There is no lack of vivid metaphors and similes. The order of words is predominantly at the

service of the idea and rhetorical effect, and approximates to poetic licence. At the present day we lack the sense necessary for the full appreciation of the vigorous rhythm of his words. It is equally impossible for us to conceive the impression which his fiery delivery, enlivened by gestures, made upon the hearers at that time; even his enemies were obliged, although against their will, to recognize the power of his oratory.

AESCHINES (*c.* 389–314), the spokesman of the Macedonian party, formerly an actor, was more of a born orator than Demosthenes. But he lacked the moral earnestness, the violent passion, and deeper cultivation of heart and mind. In the case of "the False Embassy" (*Περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*), the subject of a charge which Demosthenes brought against him in 343 after the Peace of Philocrates, he only with difficulty managed to escape condemnation. But after the case of "the Crown," since he did not even receive a fifth part of the votes of the jury, he was sentenced to a partial loss of civil rights (*ἀτιμία*), and withdrew to Rhodes.

THE LITERATURE OF HELLENISM

Alexander the Great (336–323), whose irresistible onset made the huge Persian Empire subject to him, thereby opened up vast districts of the East to Hellenic culture. Henceforth the Greek language and civilization formed the bond of union which embraced the kingdoms of his successors, the Diadochi. Of course, this civilization, separated from the national soil and subjected to Eastern influences, was unable to preserve its unity and independence. On the other hand, it received a cosmopolitan character and a popular form, which made it more intelligible and more acceptable to foreign peoples. Thus the new culture was taken over by the Romans and more widely disseminated, when later the monarchies of the Diadochi were absorbed in the Roman Empire. Hence this period (330–30 B.C.), which is called *Hellenistic*, became one of the most important periods in the culture of the world, under whose influence we stand even at the present day.

The '*common*' Greek dialect (*ἡ κοινὴ, sc. διάλεκτος*), which, on the basis of the Attic literary language, developed with an abundant admixture of foreign, especially Ionian, vocabularies, also became the universal language, which every 'educated' man was bound to acquire. For then for the first time the distinction between the educated and the uneducated was fully developed. On the other hand, the originally uncompromising opposition between Hellenes and barbarians gradually became less pronounced, and cosmopolitanism, first preached by the Stoa (p. 116), continually gained ground.

The centres of this Hellenistic culture, which already in many ways exhibits modern characteristics, were the chief cities of the new kingdoms, above all *Alexandria*, the commercial metropolis founded by Alexander, where literature, art, and science found liberal and intelligent patrons in the

FIG. 17. ALEXANDER THE GREAT
Section from the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii.
Naples. From a photograph by Sommer.
[See p. 210.]

Ptolemies, and in the second century *Pergamon*, the capital of the kingdom of the same name. Of the old Hellenic cities Athens alone at first retained still greater importance as a seat of philosophy and a fostering home of the drama. Young Romans (*e.g.*, Cicero and Horace) in later times journeyed to Athens and the busy little free state of Rhodes, with its famous teachers of philosophy and rhetoric, in order to increase the thoroughness of their education.

The remains preserved in the original (recently increased by fresh papyrus finds) only give us an inadequate idea of the enormous literature of the Hellenistic period. It was formerly, but unjustly, regarded as only the product of a sickly age of decadence. For in the third century it passed through a time of great productivity. It was not until after that date that an age of intellectual decline and torpor set in, together with an aimless hoarding up of old and new cultural treasures, by which, however, much valuable material has been preserved. No doubt a literature, acknowledged as 'classical,' was in existence which could hardly be surpassed; but the attempt to create a 'modern' literature to correspond to the altered times

and people was confidently undertaken. Its beginnings and models, however, as a rule go back into earlier periods. This is especially true of poetry.

HELLENISTIC POETRY owed its distinctive character to the fact that the poets were for the most part learned men. Hence the simple, direct expression of personal feelings was quite foreign to them; their aim was rather to charm the intelligent reader—who was now considered more than the hearer by the writer—by the utmost refinement of artistic form, to entertain him by a wealth of new, carefully selected subjects, and to satisfy his curiosity. In addition, there was no lack of more or less tasteful homage for royal patrons.

The 'Alexandrian' *elegy* was developed about 300 B.C. at Cos in the south-west corner of Asia Minor by a circle of poets to which Theocritus (p. 70) also belonged. Its chief master was the learned **Callimachus,** the subject of general admiration in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247). His legends of origin (*Αἴτια*, causes) were a collection of affecting and romantic local stories, from which he derived the causes of all kinds of religious usages and customs (*cf.* Ovid's *Fasti*). They were mostly love-stories, as at that time love was generally the main subject of poetry, as indeed in great measure it has always continued to be.

To say nothing of his extensive scientific literary activity, Callimachus also attempted many other forms of poetry. But his epigrams are masterly. The *epigram* became a universal form of poetry, in which it was no longer exclusively a question of real or pretended 'inscriptions' (p. 39). The task of giving clever or witty expression to an idea or a feeling in the most concise form was entirely in harmony with the spirit of the time, which rejected the great and heroic and was fond of the refined and elegant. Hence miniature painting, the fondness for entering into details, such as, for example, we admire in Ovid, became one of the chief characteristics of Alexandrian poetry.

The bulky epos and the heroic tragedy had had their day. *Μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν*[1] was a catchword of Callimachus. But poets were fond of treating in hexameters an extract or cutting from a cycle of legends, into which episodes or some little-known local legend could be artistically interwoven. And as belief in the old gods and heroes no longer existed they amused themselves in making them think, speak, and act just like men of the time. It was from these poets that Ovid learnt his art; hence the vast difference between his heroes and those of Attic tragedy.

But at the same time individual poets began to describe the men and conditions of the present itself, partly glorified in the spirit of romance, partly in a manner altogether realistic. From this soil grew up the *bucolic* or *pastoral poetry* of the Syracusan **Theocritus,** who long resided at the Court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The over-refinement of culture awakened a romantic longing for a "return to nature." It made the simple life of the shepherds, whose dress and manners the dwellers in the great cities sought to imitate in innocent disguise, appear enviable. In similar cultural conditions Theocritus found

[1] "A great book a great evil."

imitators in Virgil, in S. Gessner and J. H. Voss in Germany (eighteenth century), and in the English pastoral poets (Spenser, Sidney, Fletcher, Pope, and others), who it must be admitted were far behind their model. For with fine art, yet with an entire absence of sentimentality, Theocritus in his *Idylls* (εἰδύλλιον, *genre*-picture) sketches the doings of the shepherds, their care for their flocks, their love-pangs, their singing contests to the accompaniment of the reed-pipe (σῦριγξ), and their innocent banter. He describes the death of the beautiful herdsman Daphnis, pining away consumed by the sorrows of love, for whose death all nature mourns; the love-sickness of the boorish Cyclops Polyphemus, who finds himself scorned by the sea-nymph Galatea; but also the splendid festival of Adonis in the world-city Alexandria, in which the gossip of two women of the people enables us to take part. For Theocritus gave dramatic life to his idylls by generally writing them in dialogue form.

The same may be said of the recently recovered *mimiambi* (μῖμος—*i.e.*, imitation of life) of **Herondas.** Writing in 'halting' iambics (p. 40), he sketches with startling frankness and truth to nature *genre*-scenes from the everyday life of the great city, whose morals are not exactly the best. He conducts us into the schoolroom, where a spoilt boy is soundly flogged at his mother's request; into the cobbler's workshop, where two lady customers are haggling about the price of a pair of shoes; into the temple of Asclepius, where two women who have come to offer sacrifice express with great verbosity their admiration for the works of art exhibited there.

The *New Comedy* furnishes us with an exhaustive picture of the course of domestic and social life at the close of the fourth century. In Athens the old political, fantastic comedy (p. 50), with its cutting personal banter, had lost the soil that fed it after power (404) and finally liberty (338) were lost, and the *comedy of civil life* developed in close connexion with the art of Euripides (p. 48). Our only knowledge of it was formerly derived from the coarsened imitations of Plautus and Terence (pp. 79, 80); but now we possess, thanks to a lucky papyrus-find, extensive pieces out of a greater number of dramas, at least from **Menander,** "the star of the New Comedy" (Fig. 18).

This class of comedy is called a mirror of life (κάτοπτρον τοῦ βίου); but the picture shown to us in it is by no means agreeable. We see everywhere traces of decay and moral deterioration. There is a lack of higher interests; deeper problems are rarely touched upon or discussed. Menander, from whose works a storehouse of sayings full of shrewd, enlightened practical wisdom was collected in early times, is almost the only writer in whom a tendency in this direction, as we now recognize, is to be found. The aim of all efforts elsewhere is pleasure and profit. In the foreground stands love, naturally in most cases, it is true, the love of courtesans, who were sometimes highly educated, and of female slaves; for the daughters of Athenian citizens were even at that time still kept in a state of narrow-minded isolation. Obstacles of all kinds rise up between the lovers; fathers endeavour by kindness or violence to turn their sons from their loose way of living, while the young

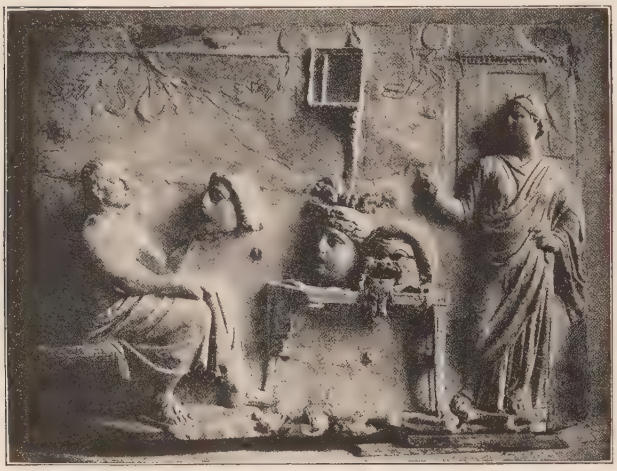


FIG. 18. MENANDER COMPOSING

Marble relief. A poet, no doubt Menander,[1] is engaged in examining the three principal masks of a new comedy. His manuscript lies on the table. On the right the Muse is approaching.

Rome, Lateran. From T. Schreiber, *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, Plate 84.

masters always find cunning slaves ready and willing to help. Odious jealousy leads to disunion; misunderstandings of all kinds arise and are purposely exaggerated and made the most of. On such preliminaries, often exceedingly involved, the poet with careful regard for the characters builds up an exciting action, full of cleverly contrived intrigues, the success of which is often assisted by a lucky accident, of comic mistakes, and affecting scenes of recognition. For at the end the lady-love is not infrequently found to be a free-born citizen, so that the union of hearts can be sealed by a marriage. Although more serious subjects and finely drawn comedies of character are not wanting, the range of materials as a rule remains as limited as the mental outlook of the Athenians of that time. But the cleverness and inventive faculty of the poets, who derived continually new points of view from the same themes, are surprising, and their keen observation of men is wonderful. The passions, errors, and follies of human nature, which, indeed, have always been the same, are embodied by them in intensely lifelike characters. The inimitable art of Menander rests upon the delicate, continually varied delineation and psychological profundity of the characters and the graceful, natural language.

Although it is only recently that we have obtained a real idea of his art, Menander has been one of the most influential poets in the literature of the world. For modern comedy has been brought up on the Roman imitations of Athenian comedies, and it is a delightful task to trace how in the course of centuries the figures created by Menander and his poetical contemporaries again and again meet us, first in Roman, then in English, French, and German dress and environment.

HELLENISTIC PROSE COMPOSITION was extraordinarily copious and diversified. It created the literary forms which then served the Romans as a model and through them have descended to posterity. But, although little has been preserved to us from this branch of literature, we know a good deal about it from later imitations. Its chief work is the development of *science*. This

[1 Others identify the seated figure with Philiscus, a writer of tragedy or comedy (authorities differ).—TR.]

will be treated (pp. 106 and 121) in connexion with *philosophy*, which in like manner at that time underwent a change that exercised a decisive influence on all future ages.

Living oratory lost in importance and general interest ; the more luxuriant was the development of *rhetoric*, which, it is true, at once separated from the evenly balanced beauty of the Isocratean oration (p. 63). For during the third century a new style arose in Ionia, which was sometimes bombastic and pathetic, sometimes feeble and staccato, but in any case unnatural. Cicero (p. 85) was the first who successfully combated this 'Asianism,' which also was taken up by Roman orators. The study of rhetoric became one of the chief requirements of education and the surest way to influence and wealth. For it exercised an ever greater and more dangerous influence on the whole of written and spoken prose composition, and is responsible for the chilling impression made upon us by the highly artificial form, intended for external effect alone, of numerous ancient writers.

The same would also be the case with many Hellenistic *historical works* if we still possessed them. It is true that an extensive and fruitful field of work lay open to the historian in the campaigns of Alexander, in the revolutions which shook the world for forty years after his premature death, and, later, in the spread of the Roman Empire. Some who took part in these struggles also described them objectively on the basis of trustworthy sources and their own observation. But the history of Alexander the Great degenerated into fable ; his mighty deeds were enormously exaggerated and embellished with Oriental legends and tales. Thus arose the Alexander-romance of adventure, in which in the Middle Ages French and Germans (the *Alexanderlied* of Lamprecht the priest about 1050) took delight.

Other historians also chiefly made it their aim to move the reader by violent catastrophes, to entertain him by piquant gossip, or to instruct him by obtrusive morality ; but they paid little heed to historical truth. Besides, as mere bookworms, they were not in a position adequately to describe a war or a political transaction. The only famous exception, whose work has been at least in part preserved, is **Polybius** of Megalopolis (*c.* 200–120). Belonging to one of the cities of the Achaean League, after the Third Macedonian War (167) he came as one of the thousand hostages to Rome, and was admitted to the circle of Aemilius Paulus, who were enthusiastic admirers of Hellenistic culture. He became the tutor and friend of the younger Scipio, and as a member of his suite was present at the taking of Carthage (146) and Numantia (133). Amid such surroundings the sense of the importance of Rome and her call to the empire of the world dawned upon him. For this reason he was one of the first who, with full consciousness, took upon himself the mission of culture, to rouse the Greeks, proud of their civilization, to an understanding of Roman character and Roman greatness. With this in view he wrote his universal history, covering the period from the beginning of the First Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth (264 146). Of its

forty books we have only five complete, but much besides has been preserved in extracts. Thus it was to a Greek that the world was indebted for the standard description of the greatest heroic age of Rome. The comparison of Livy and the description of Roman political and military matters intended for non-Romans is especially instructive for us. With indefatigable zeal Polybius endeavoured to discover the truth and to tell his story impartially; as a soldier and diplomatist he possessed the requisite expert knowledge and wrote intelligently and intelligibly without rhetorical ostentation, although soberly and instructively. For his desire was to lead his readers to political thinking, and, by setting before their eyes important changes in the world's fortunes, to educate them to bear the vicissitudes of their own life calmly. A continuation of his work, with excellent descriptions of culture and manners, was written by the famous Stoic **Poseidonius** (p. 118), an older contemporary of Cicero.

The first apparently successful attempt to write a history of Greek culture was made in his *Life of Hellas* by **Dicaearchus,** a pupil of Aristotle, just as the Peripatetics (p. 114) in general rendered great services in most of the individual sciences.

Also in more strictly limited departments of historical inquiry brisk activity prevailed. People began to collect the national decrees and other stone documents, and to describe and explain in accounts of their travels the works of art and remarkable things in the most important Hellenic seats of culture. Local history, which narrated the fortunes of a single state from its foundation and imparted to the inquisitive reader exhaustive information on the origin of State institutions, festivals, cult-usages, and manners and customs, was everywhere in a particularly flourishing condition. It is true that it was often of doubtful value, since the writers were particularly fond of pushing back the origins to the mythical period. Naturally, the chronicles of Athens composed by the Atthidographers attracted special notice. All these works are lost. Nevertheless, much of them can be recovered from later writers who drew upon them, although they were far from conscientiously stating the authorities used by them, which is regarded as a matter of course to-day. For instance, the *Itinerary of Greece* of **Pausanias** is for us an inexhaustible mine of information on Greek topography, religion, mythology, and art.

Entertaining literature was also adequately provided for. As already hinted, many historical works, biographies, etc., in which truth and fiction were mingled together, belonged to this category. A taste for the sensational, the adventurous, and the marvellous had been awakened by the important, stirring times through which people lived. Hence romantic travels in foreign or fabulous countries were enthusiastically read, and with all the more eagerness the more strange and improbable the conditions and events they reported. Egypt in particular was described as peculiarly a land of marvels. Also local legends, love-stories, horrible or otherwise incredible tales, which wandered

from one people to another, and, further, anecdotes and witticisms were collected, and many stories well known to us, such as those of the bride of Corinth (Goethe) and the matron of Ephesus (Lessing), are derived from such traditions.

(*D*) THE LATIN LANGUAGE

Originally only the dialect of a small stock of the Indo-Germanic Italians, as the Roman Empire gradually expanded the Latin language became first the common language of Italy, then the language of the world.

The oldest remains, which are preserved for us on inscriptions after the sixth century, show fuller forms of words and a richer vowel-system (e.g., *iovestod* = *iusto*, *sakros* = *sacer*, *quoius* = *cuius*, *Gnaivod* = *Gnaeo*) ; and the Latin familiar to us had already gone through a lengthy process of contraction and attrition. The wealth of forms is far less than in Greek (p. 18) ; for example, the compounded verbal forms, which predominate in all modern languages, have in Latin already taken possession of the entire perfect stem (*cf.* λελυμένος ὦ, *solutus sim* ; λελύσομαι, *solutus ero*). The stock of words is small. Latin, and consequently also the Romance languages, lacks the free formation of compound words, which German possesses in common with Greek. The syntax of the literary language has been confined within fixed rules by the grammarians, while in Greek greater freedom and consequently finer gradation of expression prevails.

By way of compensation Latin is distinguished by clarity and definiteness, by seriousness and dignity (*gravitas*). The Ciceronian ' period,' which logically articulates and embraces a whole series of ideas, is a remarkable work of art, and this same language has created the style of a Tacitus, concise but rich in ideas, and has coined a number of untranslatable, brief, and vigorous expressions (*Multum, non multa. Oderint, dum metuant. Volenti non fit iniuria. Ecce homo. Memento mori*).

Latin, then, remained down to modern times a factor in civilization without an equal. In the Middle Ages and beyond it served as the medium in the intellectual, scientific, and diplomatic intercourse between all civilized peoples ; it is even to-day the language of the Catholic Church, and hence, even in the Great War, occasionally had to serve as a means of communication. In our everyday language also, in borrowed and foreign words, the attentive observer at every step comes upon Latin linguistic property, which has reached us by way of the most different stages of culture.

The *popular language* has played an even more important part. It was as little heeded among the educated Romans as the popular dialects among ourselves in earlier times ; hence we know little about its development. But this vulgar Latin has been the origin of the Romance languages—Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian, the oldest written records of which appear in the ninth century (in the Strassburg Oath).

(*E*) ROMAN LITERATURE

Introduction. The Roman character was essentially different from the Greek. The Romans lacked the lively imagination and formative power which rendered fruitful the intellectual life and art of the Hellenes; on the other hand, they were distinguished by keen understanding, scrupulous sense of order, and practical talents. These qualities found most complete expression in their political organization, their military arrangements, and their law; they were only to a small extent favourable to the full development of an important national literature. To make up for this, the Romans, with wonderful receptive faculties, which soon rose above mere imitation, appropriated Hellenic culture, without, however, sacrificing their own national feeling. Nor should it be forgotten that among the fresh men of talent who promoted this development in many cases highly gifted and accomplished persons of foreign origin played an influential part; thus, as the "master of three languages," Ennius, had migrated from Calabria, so later Catullus and Virgil came from the district of the Po, and the Senecas, Quintilian, and Martial from Spain.

Undoubtedly the Roman written compositions are in great part imitations of Greek originals, which they have rarely equalled, much less surpassed, although they often afford us a certain compensation for the loss of their models. Nevertheless, Roman literature, as in recent times is becoming more and more recognized and acknowledged, has its own value. For it has independently furthered the development of many kinds of literature, and in its classical works Roman vigour is not infrequently found united with Greek beauty. And above all it has fulfilled a universal mission. For it was by it that Hellenistic civilization was transplanted to the West, where it became the foundation of modern culture. The literature of more modern times has been brought up not on the Greek masters, who did not begin to exercise an influence until later, but on Roman writers.

THE LITERATURE OF THE OLDER REPUBLIC (240-80)

Roman National Beginnings. Without the influence of the Greeks a literature worthy of notice could hardly have developed in Rome. This is shown by the modest attempts of which we have information. The Law of the Twelve Tables, written on bronze tablets about 450, was no doubt the result of Hellenic influence. For centuries they formed the basis of civil life and were learnt by heart in schools. The priests kept the lists of officials and looked after the arrangement of the calendar, so called from the Kalends (*Kalendae*), the publicly proclaimed first of the month (*kalare* = καλεῖν). The pontifex maximus entered in the calendar on a white board (*album*) the important events of the year, also eclipses of the sun and moon, and other

portents (*prodigia*), which Livy still conscientiously enumerates. These dry registers were later published as *annales maximi*. Political life in the Senate and in the Comitia offered abundant opportunity for practising an untutored eloquence. The speech in which the aged Appius Claudius Caecus, who constructed the Via Appia, in 280 advised against making peace with Pyrrhus was still read by Cicero. The speeches delivered at funeral solemnities (*laudatio funebris*) were preserved in the family records, as also were the inscriptions under the ancestral busts (*imagines*) in the private chapel of distinguished persons. They were partly composed in Saturnian verse.

This verse (*versus Saturnius*) was the old Italian metre divided into two halves, each hemistich containing three accented syllables. In addition to epitaphs, remains of very old ritual songs have also been preserved: the *carmen Saliare*, which the Salii sang in honour of Mars during their procession through the city, and the *carmen fratrum Arvalium*, which the *fratres Arvales* ("brethren of the fields") chanted to the dance in spring to entreat prosperity for the crops. One of the epitaphs from the funeral vault of the Scipios may here be given, also as a specimen of the older Latinity:

Honc oino ploirume cosensiont R[omane]
duonoro optumo fuise viro,
Luciom Scipione. filios Barbati
consol censor aidilis hic fuet a[pud vos]
hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe
dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d votam].[1]

Besides this, the taste for joke and jest found an outlet in bantering verse, with which the participators in the harvest festival, the bridegroom at the wedding, even the general in the triumph, were pursued. Even the beginnings of a dramatic poesy were to be found in the *fabulae Atellanae* (Atellan farces), which derived their name from the Campanian town of Atella. But the Latin language had no special word either for the poet, who was simply named writer (*scriba*), or for the poem; for *carmen* means any utterance in prose or verse.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEKS. LIVIUS ANDRONICUS. NAEVIUS. ENNIUS.

Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.[2]

The Romans had already for a long time been in contact with Greek culture, partly indirectly through the Etruscans, partly directly through friendly and hostile relations with the Greek cities of Lower Italy (Magna Graecia), especially since the conquest of Tarentum (272). During the regal period they had adopted the Greek alphabetical writing from Campania, which

[1] "This one man most Romans agree was the bravest of brave men, Lucius Scipio. Son of Barbatus, he was consul [256], censor, aedile, among you; he took Corsica and the city of Aleria, and gratefully dedicated a temple vowed to the Storms."

[2] "In the Second Punic War the Muse with pinioned step made her way among the wild, warlike people of Romulus."

in its Latin form still dominates the world to-day. The influence of Greek literature begins in the year 240; **Livius Andronicus** of Tarentum, a manumitted prisoner of war, produced on the Roman stage the first tragedy and the first comedy in a Latin adaptation from the Greek. A schoolmaster, he translated the *Odyssey* into Latin Saturnians:

Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum,[1]

and, when well advanced in years, he also composed the first processional hymn after a Greek model to be sung by a chorus of maidens. Thus all classes of poetry were introduced into Rome nearly at the same time, and men of energy, who had likewise first immigrated into Rome, rapidly promoted their development. Next, **Gnaeus Naevius** (*c.* 270–200), a Latin citizen from Campania, ventured to treat in epic fashion and in Saturnians, which Cicero and Horace were still fond of reading, a national theme—the First Punic War (*Bellum Poenicum*), in which he himself had taken part. He even attempted historical drama, and in his comedies audaciously ridiculed moral and political abuses in Rome, which no doubt at last caused his banishment.

Quintus Ennius (239–169) was the first admittedly great poet, distinguished by his vigorous talent and the many-sidedness of his creative genius. He came from Oscan Calabria, which was entirely under the influence of Greek culture. Cato had taken him with him to Rome, where he soon found distinguished patrons, one of whom later even obtained for him the Roman citizenship. In his *Annales* he presented the Romans with the epoch-making national epos, which was only put into the shade by Virgil's *Aeneid*. It began with Aeneas, and in eighteen books went down to the history of his own time. His chief model was Homer; hence he wrote in hexameters, in which all the later writers of epics have followed him. At the same time, he was obliged to fix the uncertain quantities of Latin words by rule, and he created a highly effective, vigorous poetical language in the Latin tongue. He also naturalized the elegiac distich (p. 39) in Rome. His tragedies long remained famous, and Cicero frequently quotes from them as well as from the *Annales*. As he preferred the freethinker Euripides in the choice of his subjects, so he even translated the works of Hellenistic fashionable writers in order to spread the modern 'enlightenment' in Rome. Such books naturally only found readers among the aristocratic friends of Hellenic culture. But they soon made their way also into wider circles, partly through theatrical performances, partly through instruction in school and at home, since educated Greek slaves were employed with increasing frequency as teachers in the houses of senators.

Tragedy and Comedy. Plautus. Terence. The Roman drama was entirely under the influence of the Greek. The Greek heroic tragedy was called *fabula crepidata* (from κρηπίς, the Greek shoe). The historic tragedy, the *fabula praetextata* (from the Roman *toga praetexta*, the national dress),

[1] Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον.

which treated national themes, did not, as was the case in Greece, advance beyond isolated attempts.

The classical writers of Roman tragedy, of whose works we possess only fragments, were **Ennius,** his nephew **Pacuvius,** and **Accius,** whom Cicero had seen. They preferred thrilling materials full of passion, and sought to shock and move the audience by vigorous means. Later, as the development of dramatic art progressed, the interest in famous actors, such as Aesop and Roscius, and the delight in magnificent get-up (p. 55) obtained great vogue among the public.

Comedy borrowed its materials from the New Attic Comedy (p. 71). We already know what a loose view of life found expression in this, and can understand why seriously minded men resisted the penetration of this foreign poison. Certainly it essentially contributed to the moral corruption which later took root in Rome.

The Roman national comedy (*fabula togata*) gave way before this *fabula palliata* (so called from the Greek cloak, *pallium*). The chief writers of the latter were Plautus and Terence. Their pieces are the oldest Roman poetical works which we possess in complete form. They begin with the prologue, which enables the spectators to see their way through the plot, and in Terence is used by the poet to defend himself before the public and against the attacks of literary opponents. Then the dialogue scenes (*diverbia*) alternate with the portions that were sung (*cantica*), monodies delivered with gestures to the accompaniment of the flute. These *cantica*, which give the piece something of the character of an operetta, were wanting in Attic comedy ; Plautus, to strengthen the effect, introduced them after the model of the Hellenistic musical plays (p. 55).

Titus Maccius Plautus (*c.* 254–184) was an Umbrian. A restless youth as theatrical workman, tradesman, and miller's hireling lay behind him when he began to write plays. Himself one of the people, he knew the tastes and instincts of the multitude. He would have made no impression with a faithful reproduction of a delicately finished original. For this reason he unconcernedly filled his plays, the action of which takes place on Greek soil, with allusions to Roman conditions and customs which were universally understood. The characters were distorted and exaggerated, insults and floggings were extensively produced on the stage, even entire scenes from other pieces were introduced (*contaminatio*), in order to provide an abundant supply of incident. He thereby undoubtedly coarsened the Greek comedies, but, as a genuine poet full of wit and a wealth of formative power, he created irresistibly comic scenes. The vigour and freshness of his language is incomparable ; he knew how to fashion artistically the Roman vernacular, our knowledge of which we owe almost entirely to him, without depriving it of the breath of originality. The characters in the individual plays are often like one another, but even to-day they stand alive before us : the bashful and the bold lover ; the loose courtesan ; the morose father, who has little sympathy

with the madcap freaks of his son; the true friend, always ready to help another out of trouble with advice and money; the swaggering officer, who considers himself irresistible; the dirty procurer, who is generally fooled; the cook, who has no small opinion of his art; the hungry parasite; and above all the cunning slaves, who generally invent and carry out the scheme by means of which the lovers are finally brought together.

Plautus treated all kinds of comedy from the serious comedy of manners to the boisterous farce with equally consummate skill.

Of the twenty pieces by him which we possess, the best known are here mentioned. In the *Miles Gloriosus* the 'braggart' Pyrgopolinices ("Breaker of Walls") has carried off a girl from Athens to Ephesus. Her lover has followed her and is living in the next house. His clever slave facilitates and conceals the meetings of the lovers by breaking through a wall in the house and pretending that a twin-sister of the girl, who strikingly resembles her, lives next door. After a highly amusing game of mistake the vain officer, who is deluded into thinking that his neighbour's wife is in love with him, is induced to let the girl go, and is enticed into a trap, in which it goes ill with him. In the *Menaechmi*, the model of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, the likeness of two twin brothers, who know nothing of each other, leads to the drollest mistakes, in which one of the brothers is always called to account for what the other has done. The *Aulularia* (comedy of a 'pot') represents the character of the miser, which has become famous through Molière's well-known imitation. Euclio is the slave of a pot of gold, which he has found in his house. He anxiously watches it day and night; but while he is restlessly dragging the treasure from one corner into another, he is spied upon by his slave and then robbed, which drives him to the most fearful despair. In the lost conclusion of the piece he was cured of his madness; he gave the gold which he recovered to his daughter as a dowry and was then able to sleep quietly again. In the *Trinummus* (*The Three Pieces of Money*), translated by Lessing as *Der Schatz* (*The Treasure*), a moral domestic piece with verbose complaints of the increasing corruption of manners, a treasure concealed in the house also plays a part. The *Captivi* is a serious, pathetic play in praise of true friendship. Two prisoners of war, master and man, exchange characters; and the servant willingly suffers the harshest punishment for the deception, until he is at last recognized as the formerly kidnapped son of his new owner.

Publius Terentius Afer (190–159) came from Carthage as a slave to Rome, where he received a careful education. As a freedman he found a patron in the younger Scipio, whose house was at that time the centre of Hellenic culture. At the suggestion of his distinguished friends he translated comedies, especially Menander's, the adaptation of which enables us to perceive how the public taste in Rome had become more refined in a few decades. He keeps closer than Plautus to his originals, although, in order to enrich the action, he also has recourse to 'contamination.' The whole is worked out with greater distinctness and refinement than in Plautus, but we miss the natural freshness of the latter, as well as the finished individualization of the art of Menander (p. 71). Caesar's judgment when he calls him a "halved Menander" (*O dimidiate Menander*) is correct.

Of his six comedies we mention three. In the *Hautontimorumenos* the "self-tormentor" has driven his son from the house for a seriously meant love-affair, and now works as a slave on the land in order to fare no better than his poor young son. When

the latter returns repentant he shows himself too indulgent to him. In contrast to him his neighbour represents the calm worldly wisdom which understands everything and forgives much (*Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto* [1]). Yet even he does not know what to do with his son who deceives him. In the *Adelphi* a serious educational problem is the subject. The respectable Demea has brought up one of his sons, Ctesipho, meanly and strictly, and believes he has made a pattern of virtue of him. The other, whom his brother Micio, a liberal-minded bachelor, has adopted, is to Demea's disgust quite spoilt by his uncle. But when it turns out that the modest Ctesipho, with the assistance of an insolent slave, has also become involved in a love-affair Demea recognizes that mere strictness does not lead to the end desired. He himself suddenly becomes amiable and generous to everybody, at the expense of Micio, it is true, to whom he thereby imparts the lesson that friendliness to all the world is likewise valueless. In the *Phormio* a ready-witted parasite solves the difficult task of reconciling two fathers on their return from a journey to the loose pranks played by their sons during their absence.

Plautus and Terence, acting as agents of Rome, have fructified and enriched the comedy of Spain, Italy, France, and Germany (p. 72) through the medium of Greek comedy.

By the side of the morally risky comedy of the Greeks the *Roman national comedy* (*fabula togata*) during the second century enjoyed a brief period of success, of which unfortunately we know little. It described with blunt but healthy truthfulness to life the doings of the little people in Italy, their family relations—here, contrary to Greek comedy, the stern mistress of the house 'wore the trousers'—their classes and artisans. Side by side with it the popular farce, the *fabula Atellana*, with its stock characters, remained in favour to the first century. It was then supplanted by the *mimus* introduced from Magna Graecia, which first introduced women on the stage and openly exhibited unbridled licentiousness in dances, gestures, and expressions. Yet we ought not to judge the immorality of ancient comedy exclusively by our own ideas of decency; we must put much down to the ancient *naiveté* —*naturalia non sunt turpia*—which is better than the open or hidden indecency of modern plays.

Historical Writing and Oratory. The beginnings of prose (after the Second Punic War) show that the Romans only adopted what could be turned to practical account. While none of the poets was a Roman born, prose was at once cultivated by distinguished men. The oldest Roman history was written by **Quintus Fabius Pictor**—and in Greek. He and his successors, who employed the Latin language, were designated *annalists*, since they chronicled the events of each year without regard to their internal connexion, at first simply and in accordance with truth, later with rhetorical embellishment and exaggeration. None of their works has been preserved.

The famous **Marcus Porcius Cato** (censor, 184) holds a special place. As a convinced champion of the old Roman spirit his desire was to counteract the invasion of Hellenic culture by his writings. His chief work was the *Origines*, an 'early history' of Rome and the Italian tribes, which he brought down to

[1] "I am a man; I think nothing foreign to me that concerns man."

150 (he died in 149). It is unhappily lost, as also are his numerous public and judicial speeches, which were long admired as evidences of a natural eloquence full of vigour and pithy brevity. *Rem tene, verba sequentur* [1] was his main rule for the orator, who according to him should be *vir bonus dicendi peritus.*[2]

But he was unable to prevent the arts of the Greek rhetoricians from penetrating even into Rome, where they exercised a disastrous influence. The party struggles after the time of the Gracchi opened a wide field to *oratory*. Gaius Gracchus (murdered 121) already combined a perfect art of speech and delivery with the fiery passion with which he defended his great cause. **Marcus Antonius** (died 87) and **Lucius Licinius Crassus** (died 91), to whom Cicero has erected a worthy memorial in his *De Oratore* and *Brutus*, were professional judicial and political orators. Only the speeches of Cicero, who with Quintus Hortensius forms the second famous pair of orators, are preserved to us.

THE CICERONIAN AND AUGUSTAN AGES (80 B.C.–A.D. 14)

Introduction. During the period from 240 to 80 Hellenistic culture had spread step by step in the upper strata of society, and Roman literary composition gradually reaches perfection. On this foundation the succeeding century created the works which denote the culminating point of Roman literature and have exercised an incalculable influence on posterity. It is true that in the struggle waged round the decaying Republic prose—and naturally above all the rhetorical art—ripened to perfection; but in the years of peace which the rule of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) bestowed upon the shaken Empire a circle of select poets gathered round the Emperor's friend, the refined art-patron **Gaius Cilnius Maecenas.** From this circle proceeded the classical poetical compositions, which, although depending upon Greek models, yet possess their full peculiar value. In other departments also at this time the penetration of Roman life and character by Greek culture becomes complete. In this form, certainly coarsened, but to a certain extent adapted for practical use, it was spread by the Romans over the West.

Cicero. *His Life.* Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43), like Marius, was born in the little Volscian town of Arpinum. At Rome he studied rhetoric—in which his models were Crassus and Antonius—jurisprudence, and philosophy. His practice as an advocate was intended to open the way to political offices. His first cases date as far back as the time of Sulla. Then, during a two years' tour, he completed his education in philosophy at Athens and in rhetoric at Rhodes. Although a *novus homo* (the first of a family to obtain one of the highest offices), he obtained all the higher State offices *suo anno* (in the first legally possible year): the quaestorship in his thirty-first, the curule aedileship

[1] "Keep to the fact, the words will follow of themselves."
[2] "A worthy man, skilled in speaking."

in his thirty-seventh, the praetorship in his fortieth, the consulship in his forty-third year. As quaestor in 75 he won the confidence and affection of the Sicilians by his integrity. As aedile in 70 he undertook the prosecution of Verres at the request of the inhabitants of the island. As praetor in 66 he delivered his first political speech (*De Imperio Cn. Pompei*). During his consulship in 63 he suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy in the city, and was hailed as *pater patriae*. But the triumvirate concluded between Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar robbed him of his influence. His refusal to allow the condemned conspirators to appeal to the people furnished his enemies with an opportunity to bring about his banishment with the aid of Publius Clodius, the infamous tribune of the people (57). Even after he had been recalled in 56 to the delight of all right-minded people, he remained condemned to political inactivity. During these years (56–52) his political and rhetorical writings were composed. In 51–50 as proconsul he administered the province of Cilicia. In the civil war (49–48) he took the side of Pompey, but was nevertheless treated with kindness and distinction by Caesar after his victory at Pharsalus. He sought to console himself for the loss of his liberty and the death of his beloved daughter Tullia by intense literary activity (chiefly philosophical works). After the murder of Caesar (44) he once again supported the restoration of the Republic, and attacked Antony in a violent succession of speeches, which he himself called *Philippics* (p. 66). Octavian could not—or would not—protect him against the vengeance of Antony ; his name was placed upon the proscribed list, and during his flight from Rome he was murdered (43).

FIG. 19. CICERO
Marble bust.
Rome, Capitol. From Brunn and Arndt, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Plate 254.
Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

Character. As man, orator, statesman, and author Cicero has often been one-sidedly judged. Formerly he was the subject of an uncritical admiration ; in the last decades it has been directly the fashion to depreciate him as much as possible. The truth lies between the two. He was a man of the highest integrity and free from greed—which then meant something—an affectionate father and loyal friend, an enthusiastic patriot who defended the old constitution from a feeling of deepest conviction. But his ambition induced him to strive after unattainable ends ; he pretended to be a great statesman, and yet he was only a timid, hesitating man, who lacked a clear general view of affairs as well as a firm resolve and unscrupulous will to act. In addition to this, his vanity, which made him the herald of his own acts, was unlimited. It is unfortunate for him, although fascinating for us, that in his correspondence

with his friends (not intended for publication) all the changing moods of his soul lie open before us.

Writings. Cicero's literary output is extraordinarily voluminous and many-sided. Alertly receptive, he seized upon everything new, and knew how to elaborate it with unwearied industry and admirable formative talent. It is almost a matter of course that his creative power was consequently extensive rather than deep. But he has been personally reproached for much that was the natural outcome of the customs of his time. This is especially true of his activity as an orator, in which his creative faculty centred.

(1) We possess fifty-seven of his *speeches* (about half those published by him), partly judicial speeches, many of which have a political interest, and partly political. They were in most cases revised and enlarged for publication; some were not delivered at all, but only brought out as political pamphlets.

The most important are here mentioned.

80 B.C. *Oratio pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.* Roscius had been falsely accused of parricide by a friend of the dictator Sulla.

70. *Orationes Verrinae.* These were directed against Gaius Verres, who when praetor had shamelessly plundered Sicily and robbed it of many works of art. Verres would have preferred to have been accused by Caecilius, who was closely connected with him; it is against this Caecilius that Cicero's *divinatio* (the examination to decide the person most fitted to bring an accusation) is directed. After the first speech for the prosecution (*actio prima*), the only one which was actually delivered, Verres gave up his case as hopeless and left Rome. Cicero, however, elaborated the whole of his material for the prosecution, objectively arranged in five books, which he brought out as *actio secunda*. The fourth book (*De Signis*) is the most fascinating: it treats of the stolen statues and other art-treasures, which at that time were still in existence in great profusion even in the little provincial towns of Sicily. But all of them give only too clear an idea of the fearful greed of the Roman governors in the provinces.

66. *Oratio de Imperio Cn. Pompei.* This recommends the acceptance of the Manilian Law, by which Pompey, after his victory over the Mediterranean pirates, was also to be entrusted with the supreme command against Mithradates, King of Pontus.

63. *Orationes in Catilinam.* In the first speech (November 8) Cicero in the Senate calls upon Catiline to leave the city (*Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*[1]). That this happened (*Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*) he triumphantly informs the people in the second speech (November 9). But he did not venture to proceed against the conspirators who had remained in Rome until he was able to convict them by the inflammatory letters which they had given into the charge of the Gallic Allobroges. In the third speech (December 3) he announces their imprisonment to the people. In the fourth speech (December 5) he recommends that the punishment of death be inflicted upon them. From the supplementary narrative of Sallust (p. 88) we learn that Caesar had previously pronounced against the death-penalty, and that only the determined intervention of the younger Cato brought about their condemnation. On the same evening the conspirators were executed in the State prison, the still existing gloomy Carcer Mamertinus in the Forum.

63. *Oratio pro Lucio Murena.* In this Cicero defends the worthy Murena, a candidate

[1] "How long then, O Catiline, do you intend to abuse our patience?"

for the consulship, against the charge that he had made use of illegal means in his canvassing (*de ambitu*).

62. *Oratio pro Aulo Licinio Archia Poeta.* Archias was falsely accused of having illegally assumed the citizenship. His defence afforded Cicero the desired opportunity of extolling learning and the art of poetry from sincere conviction of their value.

56. *Oratio pro Publio Sestio.* Sestius had energetically assisted in procuring the recall of Cicero from banishment, and was accused by Clodius *de vi* (on a charge of violence), since, like other party leaders, he had surrounded himself with bands of armed men.

52. *Oratio pro Tito Annio Milone.* During an encounter between the bands of Milo and Clodius the latter had been killed. Cicero now sought to prove that Milo had acted in self-defence, but he was condemned. The speech we possess is an expanded revision, published later, not the one actually delivered.

46. *Oratio pro Quinto Ligario.* This speech was a successful appeal for the pardon of Ligarius, one of the Pompeian party living in banishment.

45. *Oratio pro Rege Deiotaro.* A defence of an Asiatic petty prince who was falsely accused of having attempted the life of Caesar.

44–43. *Orationes in Marcum Antonium Philippicae.* Fourteen violent attacks upon the triumvir Marcus Antonius, which bring before our eyes the state of affairs and events subsequent to the murder of Caesar.

Cicero was a born and trained orator. Reading can give us no idea of the enormous influence he acquired by his artistic and impassioned delivery, by the modulation of his voice and expressive gestures. The aim of the ancient orator was not merely to convince his hearers, but also to carry them away and at the same time afford them an aesthetic enjoyment. The advocate naturally employed every means to help in securing the victory of his client's cause, even if it was not beyond reproach. This has an injurious effect upon the impression which Cicero's speeches make upon us. The sense of artistic form is not peculiar to us to the same extent as to the Romance peoples. Hence Cicero's language is likely to strike us as too verbose, exaggerated, and bombastic. But as a matter of fact, by going back to the best Attic models, Demosthenes and Isocrates, he had moderated the showiness of Asianism, the fashionable oratory of the time (p. 73), whose chief representative was his rival Quintus Hortensius. Although he did not equal those orators, yet his mastery of all the contrivances of art, the clearly arranged construction of his long periods, the mobility and vividness of his language, remain worthy of admiration.

(2) The *rhetorical writings* describe, in an appropriate combination of Greek theory and Roman practice, Cicero's conception of the character, tasks, and training of the orator as those of " a man who knows how to speak about everything in clever, well-arranged, and ornate language, from memory, and also with a certain dignified delivery."

55 B.C. *De Oratore,* in three books, is one of Cicero's chief works. In an attractively written dialogue, the chief characters in which are the two famous orators Crassus and Antonius (p. 82), the questions indicated above are examined from all points of view and the requirements of a complete speech (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, actio*) discussed.

46. *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus* is a history of Roman oratory, noticeable as the first

Roman literary-historical treatise, and valuable for the description of Cicero's own development.

46. *Orator* is a summary description of the ideal orator.

(3) The *philosophical writings* have been often harshly condemned, but not altogether with justice. Cicero was no acute thinker and, generally speaking, no philosopher, and is entirely dependent upon Greek authorities (p. 106). But he was a most enthusiastic student of philosophy in his youth, since he saw in it the foundation of all true culture, and in his later years found consolation in it at a time of grievous sorrow. Hence he wished to make its treasures accessible also to his countrymen, and with this object as a rule chose the popular dialogue form, in which it must be admitted that he does not remotely approach Plato's wonderful art. But in so doing he solved an important problem in the history of culture, not merely for his own time, but also for later generations.

The chief of the seventeen writings of this class are :

54 B.C. *De Republica*, in six books, and (52) *De Legibus*, in three books. These political writings (which were included among the philosophical) are only preserved in fragments.

45. *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. A very valuable exposition of the philosophical views of the highest good and the greatest evil.

44. *Tusculanae Disputationes*, in five books. Five dialogues on important vital questions, called after Cicero's villa at Tusculum : on contempt of death, on endurance of pain, on appeasing sorrow, on the other mental disturbances, and that virtue is content with itself alone as sufficient for a happy life.

44. *De Officiis*, in three books. A hastily thrown off treatise, in which he gives his son Marcus, then studying at Athens, some valuable and practical rules of life (see Panaetius, p. 118). The first book treats of the morally good (*honestum*), the second of the useful (*utile*), the third of the conflict between both.

44. *Cato Maior de Senectute*. A graceful little essay, in which he makes the worthy old Cato (p. 81) vigorously defend old age against all the reproaches brought against it.

44. *Laelius de Amicitia*. A treatise on friendship, called after Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio.

(4) *The Letters*. More than eight hundred and fifty letters, ninety of them addressed to Cicero, have been preserved in four collections : *Epistulae ad Atticum* (sixteen books) ; *Epistulae ad Familiares* (sixteen books) ; *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem* (three books) ; *Epistulae ad Marcum Brutum* (two books). These letters, beginning from the year 68, furnish the most valuable self-evidence as to Cicero's life and character ; they are at the same time inestimable documents for the condition of culture and the internal and external history of the time, which with their guidance we can often follow day by day. The style, especially in the confidential letters to his best friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, is simpler and more spontaneous than that of his other writings, and at the same time gives us an idea of the loosely connected, colloquial language of the educated, with an admixture of Greek words.

Cicero was a born author, filled with the irresistible impulse to put into words and set down in books everything that stimulated or inwardly moved

him. His *importance* for his age and, beyond it, for the entire intellectual development of posterity is extraordinarily great. He gave the language of Latin prose wealth of expression and rounded off the structure of sentences, and has been regarded down to modern times as an unrivalled example of style. The great orators, especially of England and France, have taken his speeches and rhetorical works as their model. And even to the present day his philosophical writings fulfil the practical purpose for which they were composed—that of imperceptibly introducing the uninitiated, and especially the young, to the elements of this difficult science.

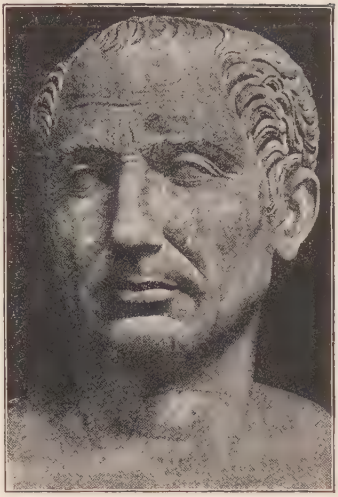


FIG. 20. CAESAR
Marble. Colossal head of the period of Trajan.
Naples.

CAESAR. Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44), the great general and statesman, the first 'Emperor' of Rome, was at the same time one of the most cultivated and accomplished men of his age. Even in the field he found time to write grammatical treatises as well as political polemics. As an orator he knew how to rouse the enthusiasm of soldiers and citizens by his "imperial language," while his temperate, clear, and concise style, in which his entire character found expression, was extolled as a model of the *tenue* (simple, unadorned) *dicendi genus* in contrast to Cicero's rhetorical art.

His *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* rank among the most remarkable writings of antiquity. In eight books, the last of which is the work of his lieutenant Hirtius, they describe clearly and vividly the conquest of Gaul (58–50), an event of importance in the history of the world, the effects of which have lasted to the present day. To this work also we are indebted for the oldest detailed information on the ancient Germans. The great undertaking was planned and carried out from beginning to end by Caesar, and it is he himself who relates his own deeds, simply and without embellishment, after the manner of Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (p. 61). But his narrative (in the third person) is only in appearance entirely objective. In reality Caesar, without the reader observing it, knows how to put his intentions and course of action in the right light, and to defend them against the attacks of his numerous opponents in Rome.

With a similar object he later described in the three books of the *Commentarii de Bello Civili* the civil war of 49–48 down to the decisive battle of Pharsalus. This work also found continuators, who reported the struggles of the following years: *Bellum Alexandrinum* (47), *Bellum Africanum* (46), and *Bellum Hispaniense* (45).

SALLUST. Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86–35), born at Amiternum (Terni) in the land of the Sabines, was a partisan of Caesar. The latter reinstated

him in the Senate, from which he had been expelled on the ground of immorality. After Caesar's final victory he administered as proconsul the province of Africa, from which he returned with great wealth. In his magnificently laid out gardens, long known as " the gardens of Sallust," and later the property of Augustus, he devoted himself after Caesar's murder entirely to writing history. In the main his works deal with the history of his own times, the moral corruption of which he mercilessly revealed.

The two monographs which we possess afforded ample opportunity for this: *Bellum Catilinae* (63) and *Bellum Jugurthinum* (111–105). For the conspiracy of Catiline could have been possible only in a morally degraded State and people, and the ambitious, unscrupulous soldier-king Jugurtha was able to hold out so long against the Roman legions only by shameless bribery of the hostile generals. On his departure from Rome Sallust puts into his mouth the exclamation: *Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.*[1] Only a few interesting speeches and letters from Sallust's chief work, the *Historiae* (from Sulla's death in 78 to 67), have been preserved.

Sallust was an accomplished man and the first great Roman historian, although he wrote as a political party man, as a convinced democrat. His model was Thucydides; hence he not only attached importance to the description of events, but still more to their causes and pragmatic connexion,[2] to the motives of the men who played a part in them, of whom he draws brilliant portraits. His narrative is diversified with reflections and vigorous maxims; his language, the somewhat antiquated colouring of which is intentional, is concise and effective.

Cornelius Nepos and Livy. **Cornelius Nepos** was a native of Upper Italy (Gallia Citerior), but lived chiefly in Rome. He was on friendly terms with Cicero, Atticus, and his countryman the poet Catullus. In his great historical work *De Viris Illustribus*, dedicated to Atticus, he arranged in parallel groups the biographies of famous Roman and foreign, especially Greek, kings, generals, statesmen, poets, etc. Of this work we possess twenty-three biographies of foreign generals (*De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium*), besides those of Cato and Atticus from his book *De Historicis Latinis*. Nepos has the credit of having introduced biography amongst the Romans and directed their attention to the great men of foreign peoples; as an historian he was of no importance.

Titus Livius (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) of Patavium (Padua) made himself master of the philosophical and rhetorical learning of his time at Rome. A man of means, he lived there entirely for his studies. Although filled with enthusiasm for the greatness of the Republic, he nevertheless became the friend of Augustus. He worked for forty years at his Roman history *Ab Urbe Condita Libri CXLII*, which covered the period from the departure of Aeneas from Troy at least to the death of Drusus (9 B.C.). The huge work, in which, after the manner of

[1] " A city for sale, and destined soon to perish, if only it can find a purchaser."

[2] See p. 60 *n.*—Tr.]

the annalists (p. 81), he strung together the events of the individual years, was divided into decades. In addition to brief summaries of all the books (*periochae*), we still possess in the first decade (i–x) the oldest history down to 293, and in the third, fourth, and half the fifth (xxi–xlv) events from the beginning of the Second Punic War down to the Third Macedonian War (218–167).

Livy was not an historian in the modern sense. His purpose was not to investigate the historical truth and internal connexion of events through the medium of critical inquiry; rather he ingenuously followed the older authorities that lay before him, although they were in part quite unreliable. Having never held any public office, he also lacked the practical experience to enable him to describe political conditions and wars as an expert authority. But he was a warm-hearted, deeply religious man, filled with love of truth, ideal sentiments, and patriotism. In an age in many ways corrupt, whose moral evils he, just as much as Augustus, perceived with anxiety, he desired, by telling the story of the great past, to instruct, elevate, and lead his fellow-countrymen back to the virtues of their forefathers. Virgil set the same aim before himself in his *Aeneid*, and Livy's work also has rather the effect of a prose epic of the origin, growth, and flourishing period of the mighty Roman Empire. This impression is strengthened by the vividness and frequently poetical colouring of the description, which makes use of the artificial methods of rhetoric without tasteless exaggeration. The numerous speeches which interrupt and enliven the narrative are of course freely invented by Livy.

A bulky history of the world from mythical times down to Caesar's Gallic War, in great part still extant, was at that time written in Greek by **Diodorus Siculus.** It consists chiefly of excerpts from older writers strung together in annalistic fashion, and is on that account valuable.

Lucretius and Virgil. The period full of war and strife that preceded Augustus produced only *one* work of peculiar beauty which has been preserved.

Titus Lucretius Carus, a contemporary of Cicero, wrote (in hexameters) a great didactic poem *De Rerum Natura* (*On the Nature of Things*). He had set before himself the almost insoluble task of giving poetical form to a purely abstract subject, the philosophy of Epicurus (p. 117), whom he never tires of praising as a physician of the soul and saviour. For his desire is to free the Romans from the paralysing fear of death by the philosophical recognition that there are no gods and no immortality. Enthusiasm for his lofty aim elevates him and enables him to conquer the poverty and stiffness of his native language, often lamented by himself. Magnificent similes, vivid pictures, and striking descriptions of nature enliven the description. "As the edge of the medicine-glass is smeared with honey for children," so he would sweeten the bitter drink for the reader.

Publius Virgilius Maro (70–19) was the celebrated epic poet of the Augustan age. He also was born in Upper Italy, in a village near Mantua, and completed his studies, begun in his native place, at Rome. As his delicate health

and his inclination for the poetic art prevented him from following an official career, he returned to his father's farm. But when he lost this in 41, as the result of a distribution of land to the veterans, he again turned to Rome. Here he was admitted by Maecenas into his circle, where his pure, amiable character gained him the love and veneration of all his companions. He owed it to Augustus that, during a life free from anxiety, he was able to devote himself entirely to his art. The delicate, often ailing man died at Brundisium on his return from a journey to Greece, and was buried at Naples. His epitaph ran :

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope ; cecini pascua, rura, duces.[1]

The *Bucolics* is his youthful work, ten pastoral poems (*eclogae*) in the style of Theocritus (p. 70), in which, although their form is artificial, the reawakened longing for the " return to nature " finds expression.

The *Georgics* in four books describes country life (i, agriculture ; ii, the culture of trees and the vine ; iii, cattle-breeding ; iv, the rearing of bees). In this charming didactic poem Virgil, the farmer's son, after grievous years of war, desired to reawaken his countrymen to a taste for the old simplicity of manners and the unpretending joys of country life.

The *Aeneid*, his chief work, inspired by Augustus himself, also served a higher aim. The Emperor hoped to strengthen and secure his new Imperial structure internally by reviving the old Roman virtues and the old belief. The ideally drawn picture of past legendary times, in which at the same time the glory of the new Empire was reflected, and of the pious hero Aeneas were intended for the edification and inspiration of the fainthearted present. The choice of subject was the happiest imaginable. That Aeneas settled in Latium in accordance with divine providence, that his son Ascanius (Iulus) there founded Alba Longa and became the ancestor of the Julian family, was, it is true, no Roman popular legend, but an invention of the annalists and poets, though it had long been for the Romans the national article of faith.

Contents. In the seventh year after the downfall of Troy Aeneas, after long wandering, lands on the coast of Africa and is hospitably received by Dido, who has just founded Carthage (i). He relates to the Queen how, under the protection of his mother Venus, he had escaped from the burning city of Troy with his aged father Anchises (ii) and the adventures he subsequently went through (iii). Dido is inflamed with love for the noble hero ; Juno, who wants to hinder the foundation of the Roman Empire, and Venus fan the flames, but Aeneas at the bidding of Jupiter abandons Dido in order not to be unfaithful to his great task. Dido in despair puts an end to herself (iv). Aeneas for the second time arrives in Sicily, where he arranges splendid funeral games at the grave of his father (v ; *cf.* the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, *Iliad*, xxiii). At Cumae, led by the Sibyl, he descends into the underworld. In the Elysian Fields he meets Anchises, who shows him the heroes who are one day to found the glory of Rome, down to Augustus and his nephew Marcellus, recently dead (vi ; *cf.* the *Νέκυια*, *Odyssey*, xi). Aeneas then

[1] " Mantua bore me, Calabria carried me away, now Parthenope [Naples] holds my body ; I sang of pastures, the country, and heroes."

lands at the mouth of the Tiber. He is hospitably received by King Latinus, who knows through an oracle that his daughter Lavinia is destined to be the wife of Aeneas. But Juno, with the help of Amata, the wife of Latinus, drives the Rutulian King Turnus, to whom Lavinia was promised in marriage, to war against the stranger (vii). Aeneas seeks and finds allies in the old Evander, an Arcadian immigrant, on the future site of Rome and in Etruria. Venus presents him with splendid arms, forged for him by Vulcan (viii ; *cf.* the shield of Achilles, *Iliad*, xviii). But in the meantime the Trojans are hard pressed ; the two friends Nisus and Euryalus are slain in the attempt to bring information secretly to Aeneas (ix). Aeneas, at last returning with his new friends, delivers his men from sore distress (x) and attacks the city of Laurentum (xi). There the decisive battle takes place, in which Aeneas finally slays Turnus in single combat (xii).

Virgil's *Aeneid* stands entirely upon the same ground as Homer. The poet has set himself the task of uniting the excellences of *Odyssey* and *Iliad* : books i–vi contain the wanderings, vii–xii the struggles of Aeneas. But he has not succeeded in equalling—certainly not in surpassing—Homer, as was believed in Rome and up to the eighteenth century. Homer and Virgil are related to one another as nature and conscious art ; but the delicate art of Virgil rises far above mere imitation. He has not only created for the Romans a national epic in the fullest sense of the word, but also for the epic poetry of the Romance peoples (Dante, Tasso, Camoens) its much-admired exemplar, and is now again estimated among us as his merit deserves.

Catullus and Horace. The Romans had little understanding of or talent for *lyric poetry*. It was not until the time of Cicero that a small circle of poets attempted to acclimatize the metres and train of thought of the Hellenistic lyric (p. 69) in Rome. The most important among them was **Gaius Valerius Catullus** (87–54). He was born at Verona, and possessed a small estate on the peninsula of Sirmio on the Lago di Garda (Lacus Benacus). His love for Lesbia (a pseudonym for Clodia, probably the sister of the infamous tribune of the people Clodius, the most embittered enemy of Cicero) became fatal to him, and we share with him all the raptures and torments of wooing, of successful and rejected love :

Odi et amo : quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.[1]

In Catullus we possess a genuine, most highly gifted poet, passionate in love and hate, who with almost terrifying sincerity pours forth the feelings of his heart. We see him in affectionate, sometimes also scoffing intercourse with his friends and engaged in a merciless struggle against literary and political opponents. These little occasional poems are instantaneous pictures of striking, lifelike vigour and originality. But Catullus also was the first, by his tasteful imitations, to make the Romans acquainted with pearls of Aeolian lyric poetry and with the artistically constructed elegies of the Alexandrians. He has been called with a certain amount of justice the young Goethe of antiquity.

[1] " I both hate and love : perchance you ask why I do. I cannot tell, but I know that it is so and am tormented."

Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 B.C.) was born at Venusia in Apulia. His father, a freedman, who had acquired a small competence, proceeded to Rome in order to have his son carefully educated. His teacher was the well-known Orbilius Plagosus ("Orbilius fond of the Rod"). As a student of philosophy he attached himself in Athens to Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, and as military tribune took part in the battle of Philippi in 42. Like Virgil he lost his little property through a distribution of land to the veterans, and purchased for himself a post as secretary in the quaestor's office in Rome. He then also began to write poetry—first, epodes and satires. Virgil introduced him to Maecenas, who after his first audience allowed nine months to elapse, but then became a generous patron to the poet of kindred spirit and remained his friend up to the time of their almost simultaneous death. To him Horace was indebted for his beloved Sabine farm near Tibur (Tivoli), where, far from the noise of the great city, he felt happiest. He preserved his independence not only before Maecenas, but even before the Emperor, who wanted to make him his private secretary. After he had finished the second book of the *Satires* in the year 30, he turned to lyrics, and up to the year 23 was occupied in writing the first three books of the *Odes*. He then went back to the "conversations," which he now brought out not as satires, but as letters (*Epistulae*), addressed to definite persons (the first book appeared in the year 20). At the secular games, celebrated by Augustus in 17, he received the honourable commission of composing the hymn for the festival. The success of this *Carmen Saeculare* caused him to bring out a fourth book of odes (13). His last works are the three great literary epistles (*Epistulae II*), the third of which is known and celebrated as *Ars Poetica*.

The Epodes and Odes. In opposition to Hellenistic fashionable poetry, Horace, with refined artistic feeling, attached himself to the older masters of Greek lyric (p. 39). In the *Epodes* he imitates a form of art created by Archilochus, in which a longer and a shorter verse (mostly iambics) are combined in a short strophe. In the *Odes* (called *Carmina* by Horace) he has made the wealth of the classical lyricists accessible to the Romans in four-lined strophes. It is true that he had already begun to write for readers rather than for the poem. If the delight in banter which is closely associated with the iambus prevails in the *Epodes*, the *Odes* exhaust the whole sphere of lyrical materials and feelings. However, it is only now and again that we find in him the expression of feeling breaking out with irresistible force from the heart as in Catullus. Reflection and reliance on Greek models predominate, as in nearly all Roman lyric poetry. But his poems are the productions of a tasteful art and diligent polish.

The odes addressed to friends, which accompany their fortunes with warm sympathy and well-meant advice, and the spontaneous occasional poems, which reflect personal experiences and moods, are most directly effective. Like Alcaeus, he enthusiastically sings the praises of wine and the joys of temperate conviviality. But the love-songs are mostly wanting in genuine warmth and passion, and the hymns to the gods, even the *Carmen*

Saeculare, in power of conviction; for the enlightened poet, who more and more devoted himself to the study of philosophy, no longer held the orthodox belief in the old gods. But with pride and enthusiasm he strikes the note of the famous "Roman" odes as *carmina non prius audita* (iii, 1–6), which were meant to promote the moral rebirth of the newly ordered State as Augustus understood it. Out of the fullness of his heart he praises the Emperor, who has restored peace to the Empire racked by conflict, and to call either him or Virgil simply Court-poets creates a false impression.

The *Satires* and especially the *Epistles* are the ripest product of his art. He himself indeed describes them as "conversations" (*sermones*), which with a certain amount of irony he declares he would hardly like to consider poetry.

Satires are free and easy poems, which, like a sacrificial dish filled with different things (*lanx satura*), represent a motley hodge-podge. In this form **Gaius Lucilius,** a brave Roman knight, who fought before Numantia (143–133) under the younger Scipio, had already criticized, severely and justifiably, the political, moral, and social life of the Romans. But the easy diffuseness of his composition and his

FIG. 21. AUGUSTUS (FROM PRIMA PORTA)

Marble. The statue was found at the villa of his wife Livia, where it was set up about 18 B.C. Full of vigour, bareheaded, idealized in Hellenistic fashion, the Emperor stands before us. The Love on the dolphin reminds us of Venus, the ancestress of the Julian *gens* (p. 90). Over the tunic of Augustus is a coat of mail richly adorned: above is the sun-god, below Tellus (the earth); in the centre the restoration of the standards formerly taken by the Parthians is depicted. Everywhere traces of colour are preserved.

Rome, Vatican. From a photograph.

language, diversified with vigorous expressions and Greek phrases (as generally used in colloquial language), appeared antiquated to those of the Augustan age.

Horace followed the example of Lucilius ; but his satire is tamer, milder, more refined, and rarely becomes personal, and many of the satires and epistles are models of witty small-talk. The unrestricted conversational tone and the apparently carelessly constructed hexameters hardly allow us to suspect the strenuous work concealed in them. He knows how to relate in a charming manner great and little experiences (*e.g.*, the journey to Brundisium and the meeting with the pushing gossip). With the superiority of a man of the world and the calm of a philosopher, which, it is true, carries in itself a touch of weariness (*nil admirari*), he stands above his age and lashes its ridiculous prejudices and follies—the hunt for gold and enjoyment, the haste and unrest of the great city contrasted with a contemplative country life, the obstinacy and perversity of philosophers and writers, the attacks of his literary opponents. But he is no fanatical preacher of morality ; he understands the rare art of telling the truth with a laugh (*ridendo dicere verum*), not in unctuous reflections, but in vigorous pithy sayings and striking examples, as he had learnt from his honest father. The suggestive form of expression given to his reflections, especially as humorous or serious conversations, also heightens their effect.

Thus he gives us a faithful and vivid picture of the life and general outlook of the Augustan age. He will always remain a teacher of a true art of life, which knows and observes the golden mean (*aurea mediocritas*), as he has at all times found enthusiastic admirers and imitators. His gift of looking upon his age with superior assurance and calm might indeed arouse envy just at the present day.

The Elegiac Poets and Ovid. Neither Virgil nor Horace cultivated the elegiac distich, the simplest basic form of Greek lyric poetry (p. 39), although Ennius (p. 78) had already introduced the epigram, and Catullus and his friends the elegy, in Rome. In the age of Augustus they were followed by Tibullus and Propertius, who only wrote elegiacs, and by Ovid, who employed this metre more than any other ; only his *Metamorphoses* are written in hexameters, which since the time of Homer determined the form of the epic. Goethe's great indebtedness to the Roman elegiac poets should not be forgotten.

Albius Tibullus (*c.* 54–19) was a gentle man of moods, who delights in going back in his dreams to the Golden Age, a lover of nature and country life, the peaceful happiness of which he gracefully describes. In harmonious, simple distichs, without any show of learning, he sang of his unfortunate love for two fickle women, to whom, following the custom of the time, he gave fictitious names, Delia and Nemesis. Among the elegies of other poets which are handed down with his are six charming love-letters of a distinguished Roman lady named **Sulpicia.**

Sextus Propertius (*c.* 49–15), of Assisi in Umbria, in contrast to Tibullus, was a strong, passionate nature who in Rome gave himself up entirely to

fashionable life. The fatality of his life was his love for an accomplished but heartless courtesan, whom he names Cynthia. Again and again she gets him into her toils, which he vainly endeavours to tear asunder. The elegies in which he describes without reserve the sorrows and happiness of his love are full of vigour and genuine passion. Yet they are not always easy to read, since his manner of expression is concise, and he is fond of jumping from one idea to another, and, following the example of the learned Alexandrians, he inserts a large number of mythological illustrations. It was not until toward the end of his brief life that he turned his attention to higher aims and (like Callimachus in his *Αἴτια*, p. 70) began vividly to relate the legends which explained old Roman customs and festivals. A letter sent by a wife to her husband far away on military service is charming, and the elegy on the death of the noble Cornelia, in which the dead woman herself describes her pure and happy life as wife and mother before the judge of the lower world, is marvellous.

Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.–A.D. 18) is the best-known, but not the most important, Roman elegiac poet. He himself has described his own life (*Tristia*, iv, 10 ff.). Born in the little town of Sulmo in the Apennines, he studied poetry and rhetoric in Rome and later during a journey in Greece. He soon became known through his poems, for he was a born poet, whose verses flowed spontaneously:

Quidquid temptabam dicere, versus erat.[1]

Hence he soon abandoned an official career. Free from anxiety and much admired, he led a happy life in Rome; then the hardest lot of all fell upon the spoilt man of fashion. He was banished by Augustus (A.D. 8), for reasons which he only ventures to hint at (*crimen et error*, an offence and a mistake), to the dreary Tomi on the Black Sea, a frontier fortress near the mouth of the Danube (Constanza). All the petitions and complaints which he sent home were unavailing; he did not die until ten years later—a broken man.

His youthful poems are *Amores*, love-elegies, without any depth of feeling, which have made the name of Corinna famous; the rhetorically effective *Heroides* (closely connected with his rhetorical school exercises)—*i.e.*, love-letters in which he introduces heroines of legend, such as Phaedra, Medea, Ariadne, and Dido, writing to their lovers; and, lastly, a didactic poem, perfect in form but immoral, *Ars Amatoria*, which reveals a very unpleasant picture of life and manners in the capital. In the prime of life he wrote the *Metamorphoses* (fifteen books) and the *Fasti* (six books). The *Metamorphoses* (*Transformations*) shows his astonishing creative genius and narrative art; in this he has far surpassed his Hellenistic models. The aim he set before himself was to collect the legendary stories of changes of human beings and other marvels:

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora.[2]

[1] "Whatever I attempted to say became poetry."
[2] "My mind urges me to tell of forms changed into new bodies."

He begins with the changes which caused the world to arise from Chaos, and ends with the change of Caesar into a constellation. He knows how to group the immense wealth of myths skilfully and to enclose them in a framework of narrative. He knows how in vivid descriptions to give an air of credibility even to the most incredible changes, and to construct stories to match of the most different kinds—fearful, serious, gay, and comic. Everywhere we are charmed by the graceful miniature-painting, which he had learnt from the Alexandrians (p. 70). The *Fasti* is a poetical calendar of festivals, and describes the changing celestial signs, enumerates the sacred customs and festivals and the historical commemoration days, and explains their origins (*cf.* Propertius). When Ovid was banished the work was only half finished.

The *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, chiefly songs of lamentation, date from the years of banishment. His poetry alone still afforded him consolation and hope; hence we find in these poems, as contrasted with his youthful efforts, the true expression of genuine feeling, which, it is true, was now only tuned to the single note of restless mourning and lamentation.

Ovid did not, like Horace, rise superior to his age with philosophic calm, but took his stand in the midst of its doings and felt happy there. He was richly endowed, but he lacked moral strength and self-control. He sought to strengthen the effect of his verses by applying to poetry the rhetorical arts which he had learnt at school, and unfortunately the later Roman poets have almost without exception followed his example.

(*F*) GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

Introduction. Under good and bad rulers the world-empire lasted for four centuries in spite of struggles for the throne, military insurrections, and conflicts on the frontier. Immorality increased, and the mental vigour of Greco-Roman culture gradually withered away. Yet at the same time it spread over all the provinces of the Empire, and as the Government now zealously promoted public instruction new educational centres arose in Spain (Corduba), Africa (Carthage and Hippo), Gaul (Burdigala, or Bordeaux, Lugdunum, or Lyons), and Germany (Augusta Treverorum, or Trèves). Thus out of this confused period of decline, brought by the unexhausted vigour of the 'barbarians,' there grew up a new intellectual life, rich in promise for the future, under whose influence we still stand to-day. This was the culture of the West, which, in the course of centuries, again and again fructified by the antique, has, no doubt, experienced many ups and downs, but has certainly not yet utterly decayed.

The number of educated men and consequently also of writers increased immensely. Much of their work has been preserved, but only a limited selection of their writings is still readable and of any value for the present.

POETRY

This art, except in the first century, produced hardly any works which make a direct impression upon us.

The *satires* written by Persius and Juvenal in hexameters in close adherence to those of Horace are valuable for the history of culture, since they introduce us into the moral, literary, social, and economic conditions of the time. **Aulus Persius** was a young man of good family and an enthusiastic adherent of Stoic philosophy, from which school he emerged an ardent preacher of morality. **Decius Junius Juvenalis,** born at Aquinum, a town in Latium, was of greater importance. With wrath and pathos (*Difficile est satiram non scribere. . . . Facit indignatio versum* [1]) he reveals a horrible—it is to be hoped exaggerated—picture of moral corruption in Rome ; at any rate, it would be over-hasty to argue immediately from the capital to the condition of affairs in the whole of Italy, not to say in the Empire. The rogues' romance of **Petronius,** of the time of Nero, written mainly in prose,[2] is also satirical. In the *Cena Trimalchionis* he has given us the admirable description of a luxurious banquet provided for his guests by a purse-proud Syrian upstart in a town in Campania. The demoralized taste of the following century is reflected in the satirical romance of manners by **Apuleius,** *The Golden Ass,* which introduces us to the dreamland and magic realm of the maddest superstition (p. 132), but has also preserved for us the charming tale of Cupid and Psyche, which stimulated Raphael to give it artistic form.

The *epigram* (p. 69), which was permanently cultivated by Greeks and Romans, by poets and *dilettanti,* found its master in Martial (**Marcus Valerius Martialis**). He had migrated from Spain, which at that time provided Rome with literary men of talent, and made his living as an " occasional " poet, who was as malicious a scoffer as he was an unworthy flatterer. His little epigrams, mostly addressed to definite persons, display an inexhaustible supply of biting wit and bitter mockery, unexpected sallies and sharp, pointed expressions. They give us instantaneous pictures, mostly unpleasant, of life and manners in the reign of Domitian. Many great poets (Lessing, Schiller, Goethe) have followed in his footsteps, and the *Xenia* of the two last has taken its name from the title of Martial's thirteenth book (*Ξένια,* presents given at the festival of the Saturnalia).

The *tragedies* of the philosopher **Seneca** (p. 101)—the only Roman tragedies preserved to us—no doubt adhere closely to Greek models, but they are full of pathetic declamations and embellished with all the arts of rhetoric. But in spite of this they have fulfilled an important mission of culture, in that they were regarded by German and French poets as models of ancient tragedy deserving of imitation until the eighteenth century, when the masterpieces of

[1] " It is hard not to write satire. . . . Indignation drives me to verse " (*Sat.*, i, 30, 79).

[2] There hardly seems reason for discussing Petronius and Apuleius under " Poetry." There are some considerable pieces of poetry in Petronius, but not in Apuleius.—TR.]

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were restored to the position of honour by the great German poets.

The *fable*, which in harmless animal-stories sets human weaknesses before our eyes, had been a popular favourite in Greece from early times. Aesop, a Phrygian slave of the sixth century B.C., was regarded as its chief representative. But it was **Phaedrus,** a freedman of Augustus, who first put these fables of Aesop into verse (iambic *senarii*) and added jokes and anecdotes " in order to amuse the reader and at the same time to give wise counsel for the conduct of life." We possess some pretty Greek fables of a later time, written by **Babrius** in choliambic (' halting ' iambic) verse.

Lastly, **Decimus Magnus Ausonius** of the fourth century, long professor at Bordeaux and later tutor to the prince Gratianus at Trèves, deserves mention. For in his *Mosella* he vividly and gracefully describes a journey on the Moselle from Neumagen (Noviomagum) downstream to Coblenz.

PROSE

Tacitus. The greatest historian of Imperial times was Publius Cornelius Tacitus (*c.* 55–117). In his official career he rose to the consulship under Nerva, and under Trajan he was governor of Asia. But he did not begin to write until the heavy load of oppression which weighed upon men's minds during the reign of Domitian (81–96) was lightened.

At first he composed three short, valuable treatises, the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, the *Agricola*, and the *Germania*. The first is one of the fruits of his rhetorical studies. In the form of a conversation between distinguished orators and poets, which far surpasses the dialogues of Cicero in liveliness, he examines the well-timed question—why oratory had fallen so rapidly into decay under the Empire. *De Vita et Moribus Julii Agricolae* is the dutifully affectionate biography of his father-in-law, who had been a model administrator of Britain during the reign of Domitian. The historian makes himself known in the *Germania* (*De Origine, Situ, Moribus ac Populis Germanorum*, composed in 98), written in an evidently sympathetic spirit. In the general part it describes the origin and country of the Germans, their religion, ideas, manners, and customs in public and private life, and in the special part the individual tribes, geographically arranged. In times of an exaggerated civilization it was the desire of Tacitus to set before the eyes of his countrymen the unexhausted strength and sound morality of a primitive people.

His chief works are the *Histories* and the *Annals*, which together embraced the history of the Emperors from Tiberius to Domitian (14–96). The *Historiae*, in fourteen books, written first, contained the history of his own time from the year of the four Emperors down to the assassination of Domitian (69–96). We only possess books i–iv and the first half of book v (the beginning of the Jewish War and the rebellion of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis in the

year 70). The narrative of his own experiences and sufferings in the reign of Domitian is unfortunately lost. The *Annales* (of which *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* was the proper title), written when Tacitus was getting old, extended from the death of Augustus to the murder of Nero (14–68). Books i–vi (with a large gap in v–vi) contain the famous description of the time of Tiberius (14–37), and books xi–xvi (only the beginning) the reigns of Claudius and Nero (47–66).

Tacitus was a distinguished man, high-minded and earnest, but an aristocrat in the bottom of his heart, attached to republican principles and embittered by Domitian's reign of terror. His pessimistic view of the world makes the bad times which he is obliged to describe appear even more gloomy. Hence also, however conscientiously he relates the facts, his judgment is not infrequently unjust (especially in the description of the "Caesarian madness" of Tiberius). Owing to his following up the causes of events and the motives of those who played a part in them with a penetrating knowledge of the human heart, his description acquires a subjective colouring to a greater extent than the unprejudiced reader perceives, although Tacitus has set before him as his aim to write "without anger or partiality." Hence the reader—as when reading the modern newspaper—must learn to distinguish carefully between the facts and the personal views of the writer. The effective skill with which Tacitus groups the material and moulds it into dramatic form, thereby captivating and exciting the reader, is admirable. His style, which in the *Dialogus* indulges in a Ciceronian wealth of words, in the historical writings is concise and terse, and in the *Annals* becomes increasingly sparing of words and jerky, so that entire trains of thought are often compressed into a few lines.

Other Historians. Among the remaining historians two may first be mentioned whose material comes in contact with that of Tacitus. **Flavius Josephus,** a distinguished Jewish Pharisee, was one of the leaders in the Jewish rebellion, but while a prisoner of war went over to the side of the Romans. We possess a narrative of the Jewish War and of the destruction of Jerusalem (70) written by him in Greek as an eyewitness (Fig. 22). It is our chief authority for this memorable event, but not free from bias in favour of the Romans and from exaggerations. In the second century **Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus,** the most learned man of his time, wrote twelve biographies of the Emperors from Caesar to Domitian. They are arranged according to a fixed plan, often imitated later, and supplement Tacitus' account by all kinds of individual characterization and anecdotes, but also by mere gossipy stories.

The great biographical work of the Greek **Plutarch** of Chaeroneia (*c.* 45–120) is more valuable and important. He wrote parallel biographies (*Βίοι παράλληλοι*)—*i.e.*, he arranged famous Greeks and Romans in pairs and then compared them (*e.g.*, Lycurgus and Numa; Aristeides and Cato the Elder; Demosthenes and Cicero; Alexander and Caesar). He was no trained historian, but he understands how to describe the fortunes and character of

FIG. 22. RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF TITUS (SOUTH WALL)
Roman soldiers carrying the seven-branched candlestick and the table of the shewbread from the Temple at Jerusalem as spoils in the procession celebrating the Emperor's triumph over the Jews.
Rome. From a photograph.

his heroes in a spirit of warm sympathy, with taste and as impartially as possible, and knows how to captivate the reader by agreeably related anecdotes and characteristic traits. Thus as "the biographer of the ancient world" he has exercised a deep influence upon modern times, and has also been deservedly admired by great poets (*e.g.*, Schiller). He was an ideal-minded, highly educated man, and in philosophy an enthusiastic follower of Plato.

Besides the biographies we possess a large number of writings of various kinds, the so-called *Moralia*, of very different value and tenor, but all are the outcome of the endeavour (which has again become prominent in our own times) to bring the results of scientific investigation within the reach of educated people in popular language. They comprise essays, which deal with religion, the history of ethics and culture, philosophical, political, literary, and physical science questions, and contain detailed reflections and advice upon all conceivable affairs of life. The *Table-talk*, which treats of nearly a hundred great, small, and trifling 'problems' of every kind, affords the best idea of the variety of subjects discussed by him. The serious dialogue *De Sera Numinis Vindicta* (*On the Tardy Punishment of Sinners by the Divinity*) is very well worth reading.

Foreign history was only rarely handled. Two fundamentally different works on Alexander the Great stand out. The *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Libri X* by **Quintus Curtius Rufus,** written in the reign of Claudius, is rather a book for light reading than an historical work. The campaigns of

Alexander had been embellished in the manner of romance by Hellenistic historians and fabulously exaggerated (p. 73). Curtius, who still more than Livy gave a rhetorical colouring to his narrative and in particular elaborated the numerous inserted speeches according to the rules of art, preferred such authorities. On the other hand, in the second century **Arrian**, in his history of Alexander written in Greek on the basis of the most trustworthy contemporary reports, gave a clear and objective account of the deeds of the great king, which indeed had no need of rhetorical adornment.

The Silver Age of Latin. In the first century a new style, in which the internal unrest of the age found articulate expression, was developed in Rome. This so-called 'silver' Latinity should not, however, as was earlier the case, be regarded as a falling away from classical Latin. Cicero's wearisome verbosity and highly artistic construction of periods was rejected; an effort was made to write concisely and smartly, and short sentences were arranged side by side without any connexion. The language also was adorned with poetical words and turns of expression, as previously noticed in Livy, while Cicero had of set purpose avoided this. The master of this style, which also influenced Tacitus, was Seneca.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65), the son of the distinguished rhetorician Annaeus Seneca, was born at Corduba in Spain. He speedily obtained a great reputation in Rome, but was banished to Corsica by Claudius. Later Agrippina made him the tutor of her son Nero. After the latter's accession Seneca and the praefect Burrus managed the affairs of the Empire admirably for several years, until Nero gradually freed himself from their influence. At last his wealth excited the Emperor's cupidity, and the wise man submitted to a compulsory death with calmness. In other respects, certainly, his life and conduct were not always in harmony with his philosophical doctrines (p. 119). Besides his tragedies (p. 97) Seneca was the author of numerous prose writings, among which the philosophical still have an attraction for us at the present day. They are treatises on individual branches of ethics—*e.g.*, on the shortness of life, tranquillity of mind, anger, providence, clemency (addressed to Nero), and lastly the great collection of moral letters to Lucilius, of varied contents and full of abundant practical experience.

Seneca's style was really full of *esprit*, but in others this became an intolerable mannerism. Hence Quintilian, toward the end of the first century, made it his task to restore Cicero to an honourable position without falling into his exaggerations.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was also a Spaniard, and for a long time held the first professorship of rhetoric in Rome. His *Training of the Orator* (*Institutio Oratoria*), the fruit of practical experience, is an excellent book, in which he expounds sound educational principles. The tenth book, in which, in order to guide the orator to a judicious selection of books for reading, he gives a brief survey of Greco-Roman literature with finely balanced appreciations, is the best known.

FIG. 23. LESSONS

Relief from Neumagen. Two of the lads are reading rolls under the teacher's direction; the youngest is waiting with his writing-tablet in his hand.

Trèves. From a photograph.

Pliny the Younger, a friend of Trajan, was under the influence of Quintilian. **Gaius Plinius Secundus** was a native of Comum (Como), and occupied a distinguished position in Rome as an advocate and a conscientious official. We possess a collection of letters written by him, which, it is true, are addressed to definite persons, but were from the first intended for a wider circle of readers. They give us fascinating glimpses of Roman life in the time of Trajan, and information about various interesting events; *e.g.*, the destruction of Pompeii in two letters addressed to Tacitus. His correspondence, when governor of Bithynia (111–112), with Trajan is most instructive. It contains the well-known letter on the persecution of the Christians.

His uncle, **Pliny the Elder,** who came by his death while observing the eruption of Vesuvius (79), compiled a vast *Natural History* with indefatigable industry and little judgment. In this framework, however, he gives us nothing less than an encyclopaedia of every branch of knowledge. The sections on the plastic arts are especially valuable for us.

ARCHAISM AND ATTICISM. After the time of Hadrian the unhealthy tendency of style in the direction of archaism became fashionable in Rome; the oldest poets and writers were set up as models, and an artificially antique manner of writing was specially studied. The result was that the living, continued development of the literary language was stopped. The Atticism which imitated the Attic classics in words, turns of expression, and structure of sentences had the same effect among the Greeks. Further, Greek rhetoric at that time took a fresh flight. Its most distinguished teachers, who were called Sophists, went from place to place, and the brilliant lectures and festival speeches which they delivered everywhere were received with enthusiasm and brought them wealth and honour. Beauty of form was everything; little regard was paid to matter.

The wittiest and most versatile writer of decaying Hellenism was **Lucian** (second century), a Syrian, who had first been a Sophist, then became a philosopher, and unsparingly revealed the weaknesses of both schools of

thought as well as all the other follies of his age of contradictions. With the shrewdness of a modern journalist he combined the gift of writing smartly and attractively on all subjects. He was entirely wanting in moral earnestness and depth, but his brilliant wit and graceful language still exercise their power of attraction, so that we can read many of his satirical dialogues with pleasure.

In the *Dream* he gives a delightful account of the way in which, like another Heracles at the parting of the ways, in his youth he hesitated between sculpture and literature, both struggling for the possession of him. In *Timon* the impoverished and solitary misanthrope of that name receives his wealth back from Zeus, and drives away with a pickaxe the false friends who immediately reappear. In the *Cock* the bird who rudely wakes the cobbler Micyllus from a beautiful dream of gold and affluence shows him the restless and unhappy life of his envied wealthy neighbours. In *Charon*, hearing the dead lament their loss of life so pitifully, Charon takes leave one day, in order to make the acquaintance of the much-praised upper world, and, escorted by Hermes, contemplates with much shaking of the head the foolish ways and doings of men.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The books of the New Testament and the writings of the Fathers of the Church also belong to the department of ancient literature ; they are written in the two universal languages, Greek and Latin, and were only thereby enabled to circulate throughout the Roman Empire.

Out of a larger number of similar extant writings the four *Gospels* have become prominent as 'canonical.' Papyrus pages with new "Sayings of Jesus" and a fragment of the "Gospel of Peter" have recently been discovered in Egypt. In judging our Gospels the decisive consideration is that they neither are nor were intended to be historical works, but devotional manuals, which were meant to announce to the faithful the glad tidings (εὐαγγέλιον) of the words and deeds, the suffering, death, and resurrection of the Lord. Hence it is quite a hopeless undertaking to attempt to compile from them an accurate history of the life of Jesus. Their form agreeably distinguishes them from the late antique prose, which writes in a dead literary language, is decked out with rhetorical art, and for that reason remains with few exceptions (as Epictetus, p. 119) quite unpalatable for us. Without any rhetorical ornaments, clear and objective, full of piety and at the same time impartial, the evangelists write down, each in his own manner, that with which their whole heart is filled. They speak the simple language of the people ; that has only recently become clear to us in detail, since in the Egyptian papyri, documents, letters, and records from everyday life in many cases the same words and turns of expression continually recur. Hence even at the present day their original vigour and freshness produce an effect upon us.

On the other hand, the *Revelation of John*, which offers so singular a contrast to the other books of the New Testament, can only be understood as

one of a long series of Jewish and Christian apocalypses, which, however, it greatly surpasses in the loftiness of its ideas and imagery. This is shown by comparing it with the Egyptian fragment of the fantastic apocalypse of Peter.

Paul, the great apostle of the heathen, the son of a citizen of the Roman Empire, was born at Tarsus, at that time one of the chief seats of Hellenic culture. Hence, in addition to Aramaic, he was a perfect master of the language of the educated Greeks with their exceedingly copious modes of expression. His *letters*, the oldest Christian written memorials, belong to a class of literature which had been elaborated by the Greeks in all directions ; and yet they are something new, thanks to the great man who wrote them. For he reveals his own mental struggles as unreservedly and unsparingly as he contends against Jewish, heathen, and Christian adversaries. All tones are at his command, whether teaching or preaching, consoling, reproving, or admonishing, when he presses upon his congregations the entirely personal belief to which he has himself fought his way. Thus his letters have exercised an incalculable influence on the formation of Christian literature and equally so on the development of Christian doctrine. In the Epistle to the Romans Luther discovered the foundation-stone of evangelical belief.

It was the great Fathers of the Church who, after the second century, first changed the apostolic announcement of salvation into a science, which could not, however, remain unaffected by the late-Greek religiously disposed philosophy (p. 117) and by the efforts of mystics to combine Christian, Jewish, and heathen doctrines (gnosticism, Montanism). For the learned opponents of the new faith could only be effectually combated with their own weapons. Yet many of the champions of Christianity and paganism had once sat at the feet of the same teacher of rhetoric or philosophy (*cf.* also p. 121).

The greatest teachers of the Church came from the famous educational centres in Africa—the Greek, like Clement and Origen, from Alexandria ; the Latin, like Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine, from Carthage. They were strongly marked, often one-sided, but always vigorous personalities, who far surpassed the representatives of the expiring pagan wisdom. The course of **Augustine's** (354–430) development shows us how, rescued from his life of sin by Cicero's philosophy, after first passing through gnostic Manicheism and neo-Platonic mysticism (p. 120), he finally fought his way to the beatific certainty of faith when in the last decisive struggle between sensual happiness and peace of soul he opened the Epistle to the Romans (xiii, 13). In his two great works, the *Confessions* and the *City of God*, the amalgamation of the late antique and Christian view of the world is fully complete.

Numerous varieties of Christian literature—sermons, circular letters, edifying, consolatory, and polemical writings—partly tacked on to existing forms, came into existence at that time. Naturally apologetic treatises were the most common ; by them it is possible to trace how certain commonplaces, points of attack, and arguments typically recur, and with what passion, often also hatred, these contests were carried through by both sides.

An important task was the establishment of a critical text of the New Testament, which at first the learned **Origen** (*d.* 254) took in hand, and the *translation* of the sacred writings. As the Septuagint version which originated in Alexandria made the Old Testament accessible to the Greek-speaking Jews after the third century B.C., it was all the more necessary that the New Testament should be translated into Latin for the Romans. This was brought about first in the African translation, which was made as literal as possible, and then in the Italian, until the Latin version of the whole Bible, completed by Jerome in 405, won universal authority as the Vulgate. It was the learned studies of the Humanists that first reopened the approach to the original text, and Luther presented his people with the German Bible.

Christian *poetry* received its new form, so rich in future results, from the Latin hymns of **Ambrose** of Milan (*d.* 397).

II. PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

(*A*) PHILOSOPHY

OF the gifts bequeathed to posterity by the Greeks perhaps the most important in its results is their philosophy, "the queen of sciences." For the endeavour to rise in thoughtful reflection above the world of phenomena, to investigate its growth and nature and its internal connexion, will never disappear from the world, and at the present day inquirers are still in many ways wrestling with the same problems which the Greek thinkers first boldly raised without suspecting their difficulty. But the last systems of Hellenistic philosophy with an ethical and religious tendency exercised no small influence upon the contemporary development of the Christian doctrine. Between these two extremes lies a rich development in which the intellectual life of the individual stages of culture finds faithful expression, although it is almost impossible to describe it in a few words. Further, the older works are preserved only in fragments. They were the oldest prose writings; only a few inquirers, like Xenophanes and Empedocles, continued to select the form of the Hesiodic didactic poetry (p. 38).

THE IONIC NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS. The well-known *Seven Wise Men* have nothing to do with philosophy as a science. They were chiefly important statesmen of the sixth century, as Solon of Athens, Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, Thales of Miletus, and in the short, pithy sentences which tradition put into the mouth of individuals the worldly-wise experience, sound morality, and religious feeling of that time found concise expression (*e.g.*, *Γνῶθι σαυτόν*, "Know thyself"; *Μηδὲν ἄγαν*, *Ne quid nimis*, "Nothing in excess").

But the *natural philosophers* (*οἱ φυσικοί*), who first undertook to reduce the multiplicity of the world of phenomena to one or more first principles, came from Miletus, the great Ionian commercial city, into which the wisdom and science of the East had also found an entrance. The fact that men striving after deeper knowledge ventured to raise such questions at all indicated an important advance on the naïve established popular belief, although the answers they discovered at that time seem to us childish at the present day.

Thales (*c.* 585) first declared life-giving water to be the fundamental element, and later **Anaximenes** the air, from which everything arose by condensation and rarefaction. But **Anaximander**, before him, had already taught that none of the existing elements, but "the infinite" (*τὸ ἄπειρον*), was the origin of all things.

As early as the sixth century Ionic philosophy was transplanted to Magna

Graecia by Pythagoras of Samos and Xenophanes of Colophon. **Pythagoras,** on the basis of his mathematical studies, arrived at the conclusion that the universe and everything in it was arranged (*κόσμος*, order) in accordance with definite relations of numbers, and thus found directly in number the essence and principle of all things. This lofty idea, however, when applied to the phenomena of nature and in its entirety to intellectual life, led to fruitless trifling with numbers and all kinds of superstition. For Pythagoras was also familiar with the mystic doctrines of the Orphics (transmigration of souls, purification of the soul, p. 129). In Croton, whither he had emigrated, he founded the secret society (also politically of considerable importance) of the Pythagoreans, who, united by close friendship and community of life, devoted themselves to the sciences and cultivated civic virtues. The founder was revered by them as an infallible authority (*αὐτὸς ἔφα*, "The master himself has said it").

Xenophanes, after a restless, wandering life, found a second home in Elea (Velia) on the west coast of Italy. There, with his pupil **Parmenides,** he founded the philosophical system of the Eleatics. Xenophanes was a deeply religious nature; therefore he rejected the myths related of the gods by Homer and Hesiod as morally unworthy, and rose to the belief that *one* god filled the world, all eye, all ear, all thought, and therefore incomprehensible to the mind of man (pantheism). Like this godhead himself, so also the whole world is only *one* unalterable, immovable Being (*ἓν τὸ πᾶν*), and our senses deceive us if we think we observe motion, Becoming, and decay. To confirm this certainly very surprising assumption **Zeno** the Eleatic put forward the well-known fallacies (the flying arrow is at rest; the swift-footed Achilles cannot overtake the slow-going tortoise).

The same assumption, that sense-perceptions were deceptive, led **Heracleitus** of Ephesus (*c.* 500) to the opposite conclusion, *πάντα ῥεῖ*: there is no such thing as Being, but all is conceived as "in constant flux," in ever-changing decomposition and renewal—*e.g.*, we cannot go down twice into the same stream. Hence war (strife) is the father and king of all things (*πόλεμος πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς πάντων*). Heracleitus therefore finds the original principle of things in fire. By this he understands an infinitely fine matter, conceived as in constant movement, which is capable of thinking—indeed, is even divinity. For in this movement, in accordance with divine law, a regular interchange of world-formation and world-destruction prevails. This is "the invisible harmony of things." Heracleitus, who was called "the Obscure" (*ὁ σκοτεινός*) from his abstruse, pithy sayings, was one of the deepest thinkers of antiquity, and his speculation has repeatedly stimulated men's minds.

In contrast to this *monistic hylozoism*, which regards the original principle as itself endowed with life, in the fifth century *dualism*, which assumed a moving force by the side of a plurality of original principles, made its appearance.

This was seen in semi-mythical dress in **Empedocles** of Acragas (Agrigentum, Girgenti) in Sicily. He believed in four 'roots' of all things, fire,

water, earth, and air, the four elements of which we still speak to-day. Two opposite forces, Φιλότης and Νεῖκος (love and hate, attraction and repulsion), act upon these elements, which they mingle together in a whirling movement.

Dualism first appeared in scientific form in **Anaxagoras** of Clazomenae in Asia Minor, who transplanted philosophy to Athens, where he was the friend of Pericles, but about 431 was accused of impiety (ἀσέβεια) and obliged to leave Athens, since he taught that the sun was a glowing mass of stone. He assumed an infinite number of small, qualitatively different original substances, from which all arises through mixture and separation. But the first impulse to this movement was given by νοῦς (mind, thinking power), to which the universe is indebted for its fixed, purposeful order (beginnings of a teleological view of the world).

Atomism, on the other hand, whose chief representative was **Democritus** of Abdera, returned to a mechanical explanation of the universe. In empty space float countless unalterable and "indivisible" primitive particles, the atoms (ἄτομα), qualitatively alike, but infinitely different in magnitude and shape. Since these atoms, sinking downward owing to their weight, impinge upon one another, they have been from the very beginning spontaneously involved in an unceasing whirling movement, from which the world of phenomena has originated. A modified form of the atomic theory, as is well known, has become the basis of modern physics and chemistry.

The Sophists. The mutual contradiction of these different theories seemed to prove that the problem of natural philosophy was insoluble. It was wrecked on the limitations of human knowledge. This led first of all to an investigation of these limitations. It remains the indisputable merit of the Sophists that they first took this task in hand and set man in the centre of thought. From about 450 they made their appearance in different countries of the Greek world, wandered from place to place as itinerant teachers who imparted their wisdom for good pay in courses of lessons and lectures, and soon enjoyed a high reputation. The most important were **Protagoras** of Abdera, who acquired decided influence over the intellectual life of Athens; **Gorgias** of Leontini, who came to Athens as an envoy from his native town and there naturalized the art of rhetoric (p. 62); **Prodicus** of Ceos, whose story of Heracles at the parting of the ways is reproduced by Xenophon; and the versatile **Hippias** of Elis.

The Sophists were by no means only philosophers, but at the same time teachers of practical worldly wisdom, who engaged "to bring up young men to good counsel and successful activity in domestic and public affairs." To this end they employed the arts of dialectic and rhetoric. They met halfway the universally aroused demand for a more comprehensive general education and rationalistic 'enlightenment.' It is true that many of them in their unsparing criticism of all existing conditions soon went far beyond the due limit; but we ought not to judge them exclusively by the satirically coloured portrait of them so vividly drawn by their greatest opponent, Plato.

Protagoras set up the principle "Man is the measure of all things" (*πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος*)—*i.e.*, things are only so conditioned for each individual man as they appear to him personally; an objective (that is, valid for all) knowledge and truth do not exist. Hence it becomes possible for the individual man, if he possesses the necessary dialectical skill, to persuade others to adopt his point of view, and by that means in certain circumstances (*e.g.*, in a court of justice) to assist even the weaker cause to victory (*τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*). For the Sophists also called in question the authority of usage and custom, of State institutions and laws, even the belief in the national gods (the conflict between *νόμος* and *φύσις*). Protagoras with justice wrote: "Concerning the gods I can *know* nothing, either that they exist or do not exist"; but other Sophists declared the gods to be simply an invention of clever statesmen for the purpose of deterring the people from secret offences against the laws. Thus the Sophists paved the way for the individualistic outlook on life, which ultimately awards to the individual the unlimited freedom of the 'superman' (Nietzsche), and it was to be feared that the moral and religious foundations of Greek life would break down.

Socrates. At this moment it was Socrates who came forward to oppose the Sophists by demonstrating the possibility of a universally valid knowledge founded upon human reason and creating an autonomous (*i.e.*, entirely depending upon itself) doctrine of morals. He thereby became the founder of *logic* and *ethics*.

Socrates (469–399) was a simple Athenian belonging to the lower classes, personally ugly, but filled with a vigorous, free spirit and perfect self-control and strength of will. He conscientiously fulfilled his duties as a citizen. As a hoplite he fought at Potidaea (432), Delium (424), and Amphipolis (422). With equal intrepidity, in the popular assembly in 406, which condemned to death the victors of the battle of Arginusae though innocent, he opposed the excited multitude. But he saw that his mission in life was to attain to certain knowledge himself and to lead his fellow-citizens to self-knowledge and therewith to moral conduct. To this end, in contrast to the long declamations of the Sophists, he availed himself of a peculiar art of discourse, which compelled the interlocutors to take part in the investigation, revealed their ignorance, and taught them to find out the truth itself. That is the Socratic method, which still holds good at the present day.

Owing to the lack of consideration shown to others in his ardent desire for truth and the 'irony' of his questions this singular man had made many enemies, while his friends reverenced him as inspired. As early as 423 Aristophanes had attacked him most bitterly in the *Clouds* (p. 50); in the period of reaction that followed the expulsion of the Thirty, like Anaxagoras and Protagoras before him, he was accused of impiety (*ἀσέβεια*): "that he was guilty of wrongdoing in corrupting the young, in not recognizing the gods recognized by the State, and in introducing new deities in their place." The last charge was a misinterpretation of his *δαιμόνιον*, an internal divine voice, which often suddenly warned him against a step which might injure him. By his outspoken defence he irritated his judges, but disdained to entreat their clemency, as was generally the custom; accordingly he was obliged to drink the cup of hemlock.

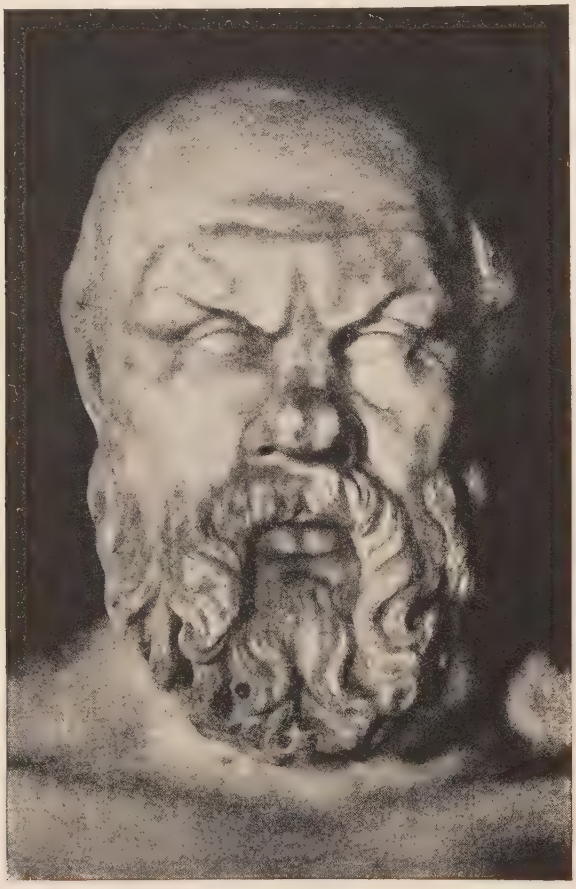


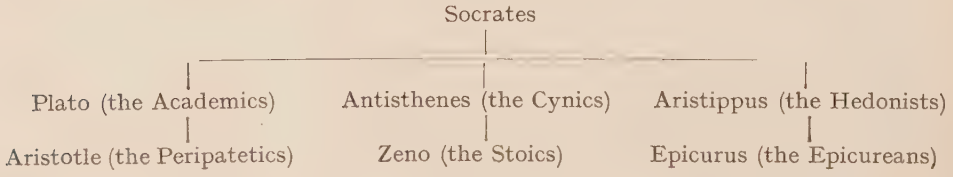
FIG. 24. SOCRATES

Marble bust. The coarse, Silenus-like features give an idea of the spirit and temperament of the great philosopher. The bust is a later variation of the original portrait.

Rome, Villa Albani. From a photograph.

In order to arrive at fixed notions (what is good, bold, pious ?) he started from individual, generally recognized facts of experience, and, carefully advancing from conclusion to conclusion, applied to them the laws of rational thinking inherent in every man (inductive method). Expert knowledge is just as requisite for the practical demonstration of virtue in life and in the State as it is for every handicraft. Hence virtue also is knowledge and can be taught. And he who has acquired this knowledge of virtue by his own efforts and inwardly made it his own is so completely under its control that he can never voluntarily do wrong (*οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν ἁμαρτάνει*). For he knows that only that which is morally good can be truly serviceable to him, and will certainly not desire to injure himself. That this principle, in itself entirely one-sided, was completely realized in Socrates himself, that in him as a matter of fact all feelings and actions were subject to the understanding, he proved by his whole life and by the fearlessness with which he went to death for his convictions.

Socrates did not claim to be a wise man (*σοφός, σοφιστής*), but only a seeker after wisdom (*φιλόσοφος*). Incessantly questioning, inquiring, and stimulating others, he could not himself arrive at any fixed system. But for that very reason he exercised a decisive influence upon the whole of later philosophy :



PLATO. Plato alone fully grasped the wisdom of Socrates and erected upon it a philosophical system in which at the same time he sought to unite the contradictory theories of the older natural philosophers.

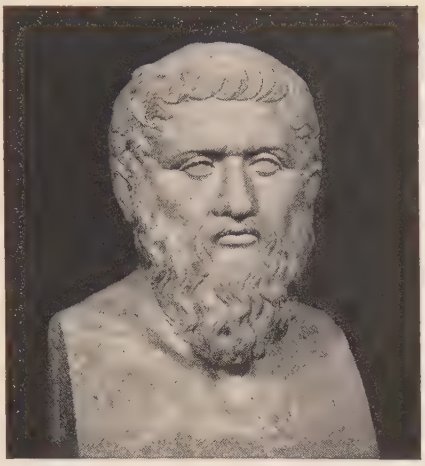


FIG. 25. PLATO
Marble bust.
Rome, Vatican. Photo F. Bruckmann, A.-G., Munich.

Plato (427–347) was a high-minded aristocrat, a consistent, versatile, and thoroughly cultivated personality, one of the greatest philosophers and writers of all times. His desire was to become a poet; but his confidential intimacy with Socrates entirely won him over to philosophy. After the death of his master he became disgusted with Athens. In his extensive travels—to Cyrene, Egypt, and Magna Graecia—he enlarged and enriched his philosophical education. Later, he three times visited the Court of the elder and younger Dionysius in Sicily; but the hope of seeing his political ideals realized in Syracuse was shattered on the rock of stern reality. On his return to Athens he held aloof from public life, since he regarded the democracy with suspicion. In 387 he founded the *Academy* (*Ἀκαδήμεια*) in a garden near the hill of Colonus. Soon young men from the whole of Greece gathered round him eager to learn, whom he united, in the form of a definite religious brotherhood, in a noble communion of life and research. In his academy, which became the model for the later schools of philosophers, he worked and taught for forty years, and also combined his written works in dialogue form with his activity as a teacher.

Plato started from the Socratic investigation of the 'notion,' which was intended to rouse men out of their mental indolence to self-examination. But to these notions he attributed a real, independent existence; for otherwise he was unable to account for the fact that man has within him the notion, for example, of a perfect sphere, of the good, or of the beautiful, without ever having sensuously perceived them in his life. These are the 'ideas' (*εἶδος, ἰδέα*), the absolutely perfect archetypes or original forms of all things, by whose imperfect imitations we are surrounded on earth. They are found united in a world sharply divided from the earthly. They are eternal and unchangeable and therefore alone that which really exists (the Eleatic Being, p. 107) as opposed to the world of phenomena conceived by Heracleitus as constantly changing (p. 107). In this 'transcendent' world the soul of man, before it enters the earthly body, has dwelt and become filled with the ideas (pre-existence); therefore it must be immortal. If, then, during its earthly existence it meets with the imitations of the ideas the recollection of them at the same time is awakened (*ἀνάμνησις*, reminiscence), and the invincible desire of again approaching the ideal arises in man—*i.e.*, the desire of becoming morally more perfect and throwing off the bonds of sensuousness. For the highest idea is

that of the morally good ; it is the divinity itself. Next to it stands the idea of the beautiful ; hence the sight of the beautiful even on earth elevates man above himself. This endeavour of man to rise from the earthly to the celestial is the frequently misunderstood Platonic love (ἔρως).

This love is not only held in check by the limits of corporeality, but even the soul itself contains by the side of its rational element (νοῦς, λογιστικόν), which alone is immortal, the impulses of courage and desire (θυμοειδές and ἐπιθυμητικόν), which reason is said to curb, as a charioteer his steeds. After its separation from the body the reasoning soul, according to the degree of perfection which it has attained in earthly life, has to undergo a longer or shorter period of transmigration through other bodies, until it is permitted to return, purified, into the world of ideas (Pythagorean transmigration of souls, p. 107).

Since only the philosopher possesses the true knowledge of virtue, so also it is he alone who is qualified and called to guide the State, the aim of which is to promote the happiness of its citizens by the realization of the virtues, above all of justice. On this the *ideal State* invented by Plato, with its three classes of citizens, depends. The ruling class is of course the philosophers, who, by careful education and selection are chosen from the warders (φύλακες), whose duty it is to protect the State within and without. Lastly, the working class, which consists of husbandmen, artisans, and tradesmen, has only to work for the others. Then, to prevent the guardians being diverted by anything from the exercise of their public utility, wives, children, and goods are for them—not perhaps for all the citizens—a common possession (communism), and their children are educated in common, as indeed was actually the case in Sparta.

We possess the *writings* of Plato complete, by which we can trace the gradual development of his philosophy beyond the limits of that of Socrates. They are mostly dialogues, such as Socrates was accustomed to carry on. Hence, as the most devoted pupil of a never-to-be-forgotten teacher, he nearly always makes Socrates the spokesman, even where, with a freedom that we are unable to understand, he puts his own doctrines into his master's mouth. The conversational form allows a problem to be discussed from all points of view, and enables the interlocutors (and consequently the readers as well) to take part spontaneously in the gradually progressive investigation. The apparent minute attention to details of the discussion, which at first surprises many readers, also serves this purpose. But where scientific demonstration finds its limits Plato clothes his speculation in the garb of fancifully invented myths. At other times, again, he reveals himself as a poet in the artistic dress of many of the dialogues (*e.g.*, the *Protagoras* and *Symposium*), in the lively and natural manner with which he hits the simple tone of conversation, a much harder thing to do than is commonly supposed, and in the perfect characterization of the interlocutors. Hence his dialogues at the same time give us vivid pictures of culture from the animated social intercourse and

intellectual life which made Athens at that time "the home of the education of the whole of Hellas." They are for us an invaluable and inexhaustible legacy from antiquity.

In the earliest dialogues individual notions of virtue are discussed after the manner of Socrates, mostly without conclusive results, but always with abundant profit; *e.g.*, in the *Laches* courage, in the *Euthyphro* piety. The *Protagoras* unfolds a lively, although satirically coloured, picture of the ways and doings of the Sophists who are the visitors of the wealthy Callias. In contrast to the idle talk of Protagoras, Socrates by thoroughgoing demonstration seeks to establish the nature and teachableness of virtue, and scourges the internal hollowness of the Sophists and the uncritical admiration which was everywhere bestowed upon them. In the *Gorgias* he attacks with keen and destructive criticism the sham art of rhetoric and its disastrous influence on the State; and, in his exposition of the aim of life, proves to the imposingly drawn 'superman' Callicles, who without regard for others defends the theory that might is right, that true happiness without virtue is unthinkable, and even that it is better for a man to suffer unjustly than to act unjustly, and that punishment is an act of kindness to the evildoer, since it leads him to mend his ways. The subject of three of the compositions is the end of Socrates. In the form of the speech delivered by him in his defence the *Apology* describes the divinely ordained labours of the beloved teacher, and explains how it was possible that this man could be condemned to death. In the *Crito* Socrates justifies his refusal to escape from prison by the argument that, as a citizen, he owes obedience in all circumstances to the laws of the State, which rise in person before him to remonstrate. Lastly, in the *Phaedo* the narrative of the last hours of Socrates, which in its touching simplicity reminds us of the Gospels, serves as a frame for the profound discourse on the immortality of the soul. The *Symposium*, Plato's masterpiece, gives an admirable picture of the social intercourse of men of talent. The nature of love is discussed by all who take part in the banquet, last and most profoundly by Socrates. Then the drunken Alcibiades appears and in a splendid eulogy of Socrates celebrates the latter himself as the master of the true art of love. In the later writings the dialogue form and the person of Socrates gradually retire into the background. The ten books of the *Republic* (*Πολιτεία*), Plato's chief work, develop in a thoroughgoing and searching investigation his already-mentioned ideal State. That he was finally obliged to feel convinced of its impracticability is shown by the voluminous work of his old age on the *Laws* (*Νόμοι*), in which a mixed constitution, midway between monarchy and democracy, is recommended as the best attainable.

Plato's philosophy is the most remarkable example of the truth that great thoughts, once uttered, gain power and everlasting permanence, although the manner in which they were first expressed, limited by temporal conditions, as is the case in all things human, was inadequate and therefore transitory. Thus it is true that Plato's theory of ideas was almost at once refuted by Aristotle, but his idealism, culminating in the lofty consciousness that man participates in a world of the divine spirits, which frees him in life from the spell of sensuousness and secures to him in death the claim to a higher existence, will never disappear from the world.

ARISTOTLE was Plato's most important successor and the most learned man of all antiquity, and his writings throughout the Middle Ages were venerated in East and West as the sum-total of all knowledge.

Aristotle (384–322), the son of a Macedonian physician in ordinary, was born at Stageira, on the peninsula of Chalcidice. In Athens he was long Plato's pupil and fellow-

worker. In 343 King Philip appointed him tutor to the young Alexander. When the latter set out for Asia, Aristotle founded his philosophical school in the Athenian gymnasium (the Lyceum); its adherents were called *Peripatetics*, since Aristotle was accustomed to teach in the shady walks (περίπατοι) of the Lyceum. After Alexander's death, accused of atheism, he fled to Chalcis in Euboea, where he died soon afterward in the same year as Demosthenes (322).

Aristotle started from the Platonic ideas. It is true that in the same manner he assigned a real existence to these, which he called original forms (εἴδη), but whereas Plato removed them into a superterrestrial world Aristotle assumes that they only exist in the things and essence of the visible world itself—that they are 'immanent' in them. The formless matter in itself possesses the capacity of becoming anything whatever (δύναμις, potentiality), as the statue already slumbers in the block of marble; but it is only through the influence of the plastic form that sets it in motion that it attains existence in action (ἐνέργεια, actuality) and, finally, complete realization (ἐντελέχεια, full accomplishment of the aim). But the origin of all movement (τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν, *primum mobile*) is God, who, Himself eternal and unmoved, stands above the world. He is pure reason (νόησις νοήσεως, thought of thought) and the highest aim of all things, which, ascending from the imperfect to the more perfect, realize and personify an ordered gradation of aims (teleological view of the world).

The human soul occupies a high place in the scale, for in it alone the thinking and creating reason has its habitation. It is its aim to subject to reason the impulses and feelings and everything else which checks it. On this practical manifestation of the virtues the happiness of man depends. Every virtue sets before men the choice between two opposite non-virtues (bravery between cowardice and foolhardiness, frugality between avarice and extravagance).

The realization of the morally good life is completed in the community, for man is by nature a social animal (ζῶον πολιτικόν). In the development of the life of the State, described by him in his *Politics* (Πολιτικά), Aristotle, setting the standard for all later theories, distinguishes three chief polities, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and their degenerate forms, tyranny, oligarchy, and mob-rule. Out of these he endeavours to ascertain the best form of government.

In his numerous *writings* Aristotle, as a philosopher, thoroughly treated nearly all the departments of this science, and, as a man of learning, collected and arranged all the knowledge of his time. He is the founder of formal logic with its judgments, conclusions, and proofs; he composed fundamental works on ethics; he is the creator of the natural sciences (physics, mechanics, zoology); his pupil Theophrastus laid the foundation of botany. He also devoted a treatise to rhetoric. The systematically comprehensive, suggestive little treatise on poetry (the *Poetics*), of which we at least possess the sections on epos and tragedy, depends upon his pioneer researches into the history

of literature. The *Constitution of the Athenians*[1] (*Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*), discovered in Egypt, was the most important of no fewer than 158 monographs on the constitution of individual states. They formed the most comprehensive preparatory work and collection of material that can be imagined for the great treatise on the State.

As a matter of course Aristotle, in his investigations on all kinds of subjects, availed himself of the assistance of his numerous pupils, whose scientific work he knew how to organize in masterly fashion. Thus nearly the entire development of the sciences in the Hellenistic period goes back to him and his school. The Middle Ages honoured him as "the master of those who know" (*maestro di color che sanno*, Dante), and learnt infinitely much from him. Only the exact method of inquiry which began in modern times freed itself from his oppressive authority, not without meeting violent resistance.

The Stoics and Epicureans. In the meantime the Greek city, as well as the life and views of its citizens, began to undergo a radical change. Since 338 the day of political freedom was past, the firm ties of the law and morality were loosened, and belief in the old gods destroyed by 'enlightenment.' Joy of existence and creative power in many ways gave place to a weary longing for rest. Out of these conditions, reflected, as we saw, in the New Comedy (p. 71), grew a new philosophy, which gave the aging world that for which it longed—no longer profound speculation, but practical worldly wisdom, which promised the individual the ardently longed-for happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*), a firmly established moral philosophy, and lastly a substitute for the lost religion. Therefore ethics is now the centre of gravity of philosophy; the theory of knowledge and natural philosophy is no longer useful except as means to the end. Thus, shortly before 300 B.C. Stoicism and Epicureanism, which strive to reach the same object by different roads, arose almost at the same time in Athens. Both indirectly trace back to Socrates; both acquired decisive influence over the moral and intellectual life of all later antiquity.

The Cynics. The Socratic **Antisthenes** had only partially understood his master's teaching, and in its application to life tastelessly exaggerated it. If virtue is the only good, he accordingly taught that the goods of culture are worthless and superfluous, and that happiness consists only in complete absence of wants. His followers were called Cynics from the gymnasium Cynosarges, in which he taught—perhaps also from their 'doglike' manner of life. This 'philosophy of the street' was made popular by the witty **Diogenes,** and the itinerant Cynic preachers, who wandered from place to place like the mendicant friars of the Middle Ages, exercised a certain influence on the moral life of the uneducated people into Imperial times. From a literary point of view Cynics and Stoics made it their object to arouse the sympathy of wider circles for philosophical questions by treating them in an easy conversational tone, seasoned with figures of speech, quotations, and anecdotes. This so-called 'diatribe' (*διατριβή*, continued discourse) then in like manner influenced the satires of Horace, and later the development of the Christian sermon.

The Stoics. **Zeno,** a semi-Greek from Cyprus, starting from the views of

[1] First published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1891.

the Cynics, was the first to set up a self-contained, scientifically established system of ethics. He taught in the 'painted porch' (στοὰ ποικίλη) in the market-place at Athens, whence his pupils were called Stoics. **Chrysippus,** who in the third century further elaborated and established the doctrines of the Stoa, was also an Asiatic. This explains the non-Greek, almost fanatical, one-sidedness of this system.

The main principles of Stoic ethics were the following. Virtue is not merely the highest good, but the only good in general, and moral baseness the only evil. Everything else, all the impulses and feelings which sway the natural man, all the goods which he prizes, all the sufferings which he fears, are simply indifferent (ἀδιάφορα). Even death is no evil, since it is indeed in accordance with nature. The correct knowledge of virtue (here Stoicism follows Socrates) is acquired by rational understanding (φρόνησις, practical wisdom), which at the same time influences the will and incites to the realization of virtue in life. But the rule of conduct and aim of life is to subject oneself voluntarily to the divine order of the world, which governs and penetrates the entire universe, and to live in complete agreement with nature (ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, *naturae convenienter vivere*). By fulfilling this, the highest aim of life, the wise man attains complete happiness, which consists in freedom from all the passions, in serene and unassailable peace of mind (ἀπάθεια). The wise man alone knows everything and can do everything; he is rich in poverty, free in chains, happy in sickness, in torture, even in death (*paradoxa Stoicorum*). As a member of the human society instituted by nature he should be a pattern for his fellow-men, he should cultivate friendship, and be permitted to exercise activity in the State. The idea of a general world-citizenship, cosmopolitanism, now rises above the restricted notion of the Greek 'city.'

This doctrine, admired for its strict moral requirements and often ridiculed for its rigidity, was directly opposed to reality. Hence a compromise was sought. It had to be admitted that many of the 'indifferent' things were not only admissible, but even desirable; *e.g.*, health, strength, beauty, joy, prudence, benevolence. And since the ideal of the Stoic wise man was in reality not attained even by the most perfect man, one had to be satisfied with at least approaching it as nearly as possible by 'appropriate' action.

Independent of religion and yet in close contact with its commands (even with those of Christian ethics), Stoicism set up a high moral ideal of life, in that it inexorably condemned the ignoble utilitarian point of view, which even to-day, as then, still dominates the thoughts and actions of the average man. This constitutes the permanent importance of this philosophy and explains the secret of its influence on later antiquity, and to some extent also on modern times (*e.g.*, in pietism).

The Hedonists. **Aristippus,** from the wealthy city of Cyrene, like Antisthenes, was a pupil of Socrates, but departed widely from his teaching. He regarded pleasure (ἡδονή) as the end of life, although it never permanently falls to the lot of man.

Therefore the main thing is to enjoy the moment. But man cannot dispense with the practical insight which Socrates strove after, since it alone restrains the passions and teaches him to separate the real goods and enjoyments from the imaginary.

The Epicureans. **Epicurus**, the son of an Athenian, was born in Samos, and after 306 taught in Athens. His philosophy, which depended upon that of the Hedonists, follows up to an even greater extent than Stoicism the expressed aim of procuring rest and thereby happiness for the soul. Hence he accepted the atomic theory of Democritus (p. 108), since it offers the surest way of setting man free from fear of the gods and dread of death. That pleasure is the highest good and pain the greatest evil needs no proof, for every one feels it of himself. But undoubtedly he needs a correct insight into the nature, kinds, and effects of pleasure. For true pleasure does not consist in individual pleasure, such as the ordinary man strives to obtain; the 'lust of the flesh' quickly passes by and is often succeeded by pain. Complete mental tranquillity (*ἀταραξία*, imperturbability) alone is able to bring about a permanent state of happiness. But for this virtue is indispensable; for it alone renders us capable of correctly weighing, comparing, and enduring pleasure and pain. A life of retirement (*λάθε βιώσας*) affords the best protection against all disquietude; hence the philosopher will only take part in public life if his own well-being requires it; but friendship with congenial souls affords serene happiness.

From this it is clear that the mere sensual enjoyment to which later Epicureans abandoned themselves, that absolutely everything that we are now accustomed to call Epicureanism, was rejected by Epicurus himself. He was an unassuming, philanthropic nature, and was venerated by his friends as a saint.

The Sceptics. The origin of all philosophy was doubt (*σκέψις*) of the reality of the perceptible world of sense; **Pyrrho**, who had fought under Alexander the Great, made this the principle of all speculation about the universe. Since according to his theory neither sensual perception nor rational thinking leads to any kind whatever of certain knowledge, the wise man must find his happiness in complete suspension of judgment (*ἐποχή*), which alone guarantees him peace of mind. This unprofitable way of thinking did not remain without influence on the philosophy of succeeding times.

Later Greco-Roman Philosophy. A further development took place within the limits of the Roman world-empire. Active commercial intercourse also brought about an intellectual exchange and arrangement between East and West, and the new ideas and religious currents of the East acquired influence on the philosophy of the West in an increasing degree (p. 131).

In 155 B.C. three philosophers of importance—the Academic **Carneades**, the Peripatetic **Critolaus**, and the Stoic **Diogenes**—came to Rome as ambassadors from Athens. Their discourses awakened among the educated Romans an interest in philosophy which rapidly increased and could not even be checked by repeated expulsions of foreign philosophers from

Rome. It must be admitted that the Romans lacked all talent for pure speculation and have not enriched philosophy as a science by a single great new thought, however valuable their writings are as a substitute for the lost original Greek works. But with practical good sense they recognized that ethics was able to offer them a firm support in the political, social, and religious needs of the troublous times.

Eclecticism. Since the second century B.C. the attempt to amalgamate the essential principles of the different schools while shelving all conflicting doctrines, in order to obtain from them a sure foundation for a practical worldly wisdom depending upon ethics, had been prominent in Hellenistic philosophy. Scepticism found an entrance in the Platonic Academy, which continued to flourish in Athens, and Carneades endeavoured to prove that there was absolutely no means of distinguishing true perceptions from false. Accordingly, not truth but only probability can be attained in philosophical inquiry (probabilism).

Panaetius and Poseidonius. The revival of Stoicism by Panaetius and his great pupil Poseidonius had a decisive effect. Both, like the historian Polybius (p. 73), had a complete understanding of the greatness and importance of the Roman world. Panaetius came from Rhodes and was a friend of the younger Scipio in Rome. Poseidonius, the most versatile thinker, inquirer, and writer of his time, was also held in the greatest esteem among the Romans. Many of them travelled to Rhodes, which at that time was next to Athens the most important home of learning, in order to hear him. Panaetius set up a morally unassailable, practical ideal of life, based upon the milder form of the Stoic doctrine (p. 116), which at the same time corresponded to the essentially robust Roman character. His work on "that which is fitting" (*περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*) afterward became the chief source of Cicero's treatise *On Duties* (*De Officiis*). Poseidonius, who as a Syrian had grown up in Oriental mysticism and had then heard Panaetius and steeped himself in the wisdom of Plato, in opposition to the atheistic doctrine of Epicurus outlined a pantheistic world-system, which embraced all the departments of knowledge and belief, of thought and action; the universe is animated, ordered, and directed by the divine spirit, and the human soul rises, as a breath of this spirit, above the limits of the body and the earthly world in its striving after knowledge.

Cicero's eclectic philosophy (for his writings see p. 84) shows us how these different currents influenced a nobly thinking Roman. The New Academic doctrine of probability, into which he had been initiated by his teacher Antiochus, corresponded to his cautious disposition, which scrupulously weighed everything in the balance. It made it possible for him to select from the different systems what agreed with his moral feeling and practical need. The principles of the Stoic doctrine, that a life according to nature is the only rational one and that virtue is the highest good, were for him immovably fixed. For he was filled with the certainty that the human soul is an emanation

from the divinity who wisely rules the world. Therefore the tendency to virtue is innate in man, and it is his task to develop this tendency consistently and continually. The consciousness of his moral dignity elevates man above himself and strengthens him in the struggle against his passions and against all the temptations and adversities of life.

For Cicero and his friends the ideal of life and culture of the ancient 'humanity,' the cultivation of true and beautiful human sympathy, sprang from the practical demonstration of this 'philosophy of sound human understanding.' Its desire is to train the individual, by means of a universal development of good qualities, to become a vigorous, self-contained personality. Hence its influence must be in evidence in all the manifestations of life: in unselfish labour for the general welfare; in disinterested friendship; in humane treatment of inferiors, even slaves; in honourable freedom of demeanour; in refinement of behaviour and language.

Seneca. In spite of the well-meant efforts of Augustus to bestow solidity and permanence upon his empire by means of internal reforms (pp. 90, 93), the religious and moral degradation of the upper and lower classes rapidly increased under his successors. Philosophy alone could bring consolation and peace of mind to profounder natures in such bad times, and Stoicism in particular soon became more and more elevated to a philosophical religion. This we can first recognize from the writings of the younger Seneca (pp. 97, 101).

The moral intensification of the idea of God and of the relation between God and man corresponds to the religious yearning of the age. The divinity loves man and desires to be loved by him in return. Providence wisely guides the destiny of man; it even sends sufferings to him, in order to test and strengthen his virtue. In the conflict with 'the flesh' he is to be trained to become a free personality. Nevertheless, he can only approach perfection so far as human weakness permits. Men are closely connected one with another. From this results the demand for the universal philanthropy in the presence of which all differences of nationality, rank, and property disappear. Thus cosmopolitanism, which the old Stoics were the first to teach, is transferred to the moral life: "Man is to man a sacred thing" (*Homo homini res sacra*). Seneca's principles approximate so closely to Christian teaching that even a correspondence with the apostle Paul has been ascribed to him.

Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. In the second century aversion from science and recourse to religion increased. It was merely a question of a few fundamental truths, which were brought near to the hearers in all their forms, but simply and forcibly, without the embellishment of rhetorical art, in which Seneca had been a master. For man is to grasp them not with the understanding, but in faith, in order thereby to become purer and better. That this power was actually inherent in Stoicism may be seen in the case of its last great representatives, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. **Epictetus** was a slave from Phrygia, who gathered round him a numerous circle of pupils in Rome and later, after the expulsion of philosophers by Domitian, in Nicopolis

in Epirus. Arrian (p. 101), one of his pupils, took down the master's lectures, and summarized his teaching in a little manual (ἐγχειρίδιον), which is still at the present day worth reading and taking to heart. The motto of this weary worldly wisdom is: "Bear and forbear!" (ἀνέχου, ἀπέχου, *Sustine, abstine*). Man must endure patiently and with resignation all that the decree of providence inflicts upon him, must learn to despise all external things "which are not under his control," so that they gain no power over him. By this means alone he can attain the highest happiness in undisturbed intercourse with the divinity, who lives in his soul and fills the whole world. This elevation above all earthly imperfection and restlessness gave the philosopher upon the Imperial throne, **Marcus Aurelius** (161–180), a firm support in the many struggles and adversities which he had to endure. During his campaigns, so vividly represented on the Antonine column at Rome, he wrote his aphoristic *Self-contemplations* (Εἰς ἑαυτόν), which shows us the portrait of a pure, kindly, unselfish man and even in more modern times has brought consolation and elevation to many.

Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy. The Jews had early spread over the Hellenistic kingdoms, especially in Egypt, and from the first century B.C., as the result of their activity, an anti-Semitic movement began, which later vented itself in wicked persecutions. Despite all the obstinacy with which they held fast to their peculiar customs they neither were able nor desired permanently to resist the influence of the language, culture, and intellectual ideas of the Greeks, which in the Greek translation of the Bible (the Septuagint), made as early as the third century, met a pressing need.

In **Philo** of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus, we find the attempt to combine Jewish theology with Stoic and Platonic ideas, strained, it is true, by a minute, absurdly allegorical interpretation of the Biblical writings (p. 131). His philosophy—or rather theosophy—lifts God so high above the world that, although He is the origin of it, He cannot directly influence it, much less be recognized by mortal man. The spiritual potencies (like angels or demons) which emanate from Him act as intermediaries, and the highest of them all is the *Logos*, the actual divine reason (*cf.* ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος).[1]

The Neo-Platonists. In the third century **Plotinus**, the chief representative of Neo-Platonism, built up, on the basis of the doctrines of Plato, an important religious world-system by which he hoped to check the advance of the Christian faith. The longing that prevailed also among the heathen, to rise above all the impurity and imperfection of earthly things to the divinity, finds in it irresistible expression. All beings proceed from the divinity, incomprehensible and inexplicable, who is enthroned above the world in a mysterious fashion by a flight of steps, which gradually descends to ever-diminishing perfection. Nearest to the divinity stands the νοῦς, the thinking reason, from which the human soul proceeds; farthest from it matter, which only receives life, beauty, and harmony through the influence of the soul. But the

[1] "In the beginning was the Word" (John i, 1).

effort of the soul is directed to detachment from the body and the entire earthly world. By persevering self-absorption it is able, even in life, to participate for a little while in the highest happiness, which it may hope for permanently after death—the union with the divinity in sudden ecstasy (ἔκστασις, removal). **Julian,** who when Emperor (361–363) thought to overcome Christianity, which had already become the State religion, by a reformation of pagan belief and life, took his stand on the ground of Neo-Platonism. Numerous writings of this remarkable, often misunderstood man have been preserved to us.

Philosophy and Christianity. The attitude of Christianity toward pagan wisdom, which attacked it, was at first one of hostility and total rejection. But many of its followers had grown up in philosophical ideas which themselves offered in many ways points of contact with Christianity, which originated from the same religious feeling and longing of the times. The principles of Stoic ethics often agreed to a surprising extent with the Christian moral philosophy, and the religious intensification of philosophy strove after the same end which Christianity had attained. When, then, the violent literary attacks of the philosophers on the latter began, its defenders were obliged to go deeply into pagan doctrines themselves in order to be able to refute them. Since it was only during these struggles, which extended over several centuries, that the fixed dogmas of the Catholic Church were gradually developed, it is not to be wondered at that a compromise took place and that not a few points of view of late Greek philosophy found admission into these dogmas (p. 104). It was just in this capacity for absorbing what was foreign without losing itself that Christianity proved its victorious power; only by this means was it able to become the religion of the world.

(*B*) SCIENCE AND THE TECHNICAL ARTS

Introduction. In our own time, which is rightly proud of its achievements in science and the technical arts, it is even now too little known that in these departments also the ancients, with imperfect means and without accurate instruments (such as the telescope, microscope, and thermometer), performed important work and acquired knowledge which is still authoritative or stimulating for us. How in different departments of technical work they gradually rose by steady development to the highest perfection we see with amazement in their temple buildings, their sculptures, and vase-paintings. All these arts were carried on in a practical manner in factories and workshops: at first it only occurred to a few to advance theories about them—for instance, the sculptor Polycleitus set down in writing his studies in proportion as applied to the 'canon' (the rule or model of proportion) of the human form (p. 189).

That the sciences were 'invented' by the Greeks and bequeathed by them to posterity is clear from a fact which is familiar to all of us, but on that account no less remarkable. The entire *terminology* of the sciences is Greco-Latin and, in spite of all the attempts to

set it aside, will remain so, since it is indispensable for the mutual understanding between learned men and between different peoples. The heavenly constellations still bear the names given them by the Greeks—some as early as Homer, but for the most part not until Hellenistic times. If Arabic titles of stars appear by the side of these this arises from the fact that in the early Middle Ages the Arabs made a deep and zealous study of Greek science and in many departments first imparted the knowledge of them to the West. Many Greek writings also are only preserved to us in Arabic translations. That the technical terms of grammar (*γραμματικὴ τέχνη*) are the same as those of ancient times is easy to understand. But the same holds good for the entire nomenclature in the spheres of botany, zoology, and anatomy, of physics and chemistry, and for the most part in the technical arts. And the most singular thing is that the practice of making names copied from the antique for new inventions and machines, from the Latin 'locomotive' to the Greek 'telephone,' has continued down to most recent times. But the passion for providing newly invented medicines, etc., with sonorous, mysteriously sounding names frequently of quite barbarous formation (Odol, Lysol, Sanatogen, Kalodont) for advertising purposes appears positively amusing.

The first rudiments of the special sciences are already to be found in the Ionic natural philosophy of the sixth century (p. 106). It was only by degrees that they freed themselves from philosophy, as in modern times men have done from theology. Here the influence and example of **Aristotle** (p. 113), who was not only a great thinker and man of letters, but also a master of empirical observation, exercised a powerful influence. Thus the third century became the age of inventions and discoveries and the flourishing period of the sciences. These were held in great esteem in the kingdoms of the Diadochi, first and foremost in Egypt, where they were energetically promoted by Ptolemy Soter, formerly one of Alexander's generals, and by his successor Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus *Alexandria* became the centre of learned research.

Geography and Astronomy. The wonders of earth and sky early excited the gift of observation of the Ionians, and their extended trading voyages enlarged their horizon. **Anaximander** (p. 106) had already destroyed the Homeric conception of the flat disk of earth surrounded by ocean with the vault of heaven above it, and had attempted to draw a map of the world. The oldest Pythagoreans already maintained that the earth was a sphere, and Philolaus (fifth century) made it revolve with the other stars round a mighty central fire (harmony of the spheres). Later, the Pythagorean Ecphantus recognized that the earth moved round its own axis, and lastly, as early as the third century B.C., the Peripatetic Aristarchus of Samos established the revolution of the earth and planets round the sun. But this epoch-making discovery found no credit, and owing to Ptolemy, who in the second century A.D. in his astronomical work *Σύνταξις μεγίστη* (*The Greatest Collection,* called by the Arabs *Almagest—i.e., ἡ μεγίστη, sc. βίβλος,* the greatest book) summarized the whole of astronomical knowledge, the assumption that the earth stood still in the centre of the world became and continued a dogma throughout the Middle Ages (Ptolemaic world-system), until Copernicus in 1543 repeated the discovery of Aristarchus and thereby laid the foundation of the modern

idea of the world. Hipparchus above all investigated the world of stars, and in the second century B.C. was already able to draw up a list of nearly 900 fixed stars.

Descriptive *geography* was founded about 500 B.C. by the first logographer, Hecataeus (p. 56), in his *Journey round the Earth* (*Περίοδος γῆς*) and long remained combined with historiography (*cf.* the geographical matter inserted in Herodotus and Xenophon, Sallust and Caesar). The campaigns of Alexander the Great, who also devoted attention to the investigation of foreign countries, and the voyages of discovery of individual bold explorers such as Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), who penetrated as far as the British islands and the amber coasts of the Baltic, greatly enlarged the knowledge of the 'inhabited world' (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*). **Eratosthenes,** the second head of the Alexandrian library, then created scientific geography. On the basis of his measurement of the earth he drew and elucidated a map of the earth with degrees of longitude and latitude.

Eratosthenes determined that in Alexandria the sun at the summer solstice was still distant 7° 5′ from the zenith, whereas in Syene at the same time it entirely illuminated a deep well. Since, then, the distance between the two places was known to be 5040 stadia (about 500 English miles) he arrived at the result that the circumference of the earth was 252,000 stadia—*i.e.*, about 28,000 English miles (it is really about 24,000).

The geography of the Greek **Strabo** (in the time of Augustus) has been preserved—an account of lands and peoples, popularly written in the best sense of the word, and for us one of the chief authorities for our knowledge of the ancient world. Augustus himself had a large map of the world constructed by his general Agrippa and set up in Rome.

Mathematics and Technical Arts. Mathematics owes its name and elements to the Pythagoreans (p. 106). The latter developed the chief propositions of plane geometry (Pythagorean theorems) and the theory of proportion, and at this early date solved equations of the second degree—not, however, with formulae, but by operations with lines and surfaces. This 'geometrical algebra' remained in use through nearly all ancient times; hence we still speak of square and cube. The school of Plato, to whom we owe the analytical method of proof, also contributed to the advance of mathematics. But it reached its highest point in the third century through three great mathematicians. **Euclid(es)** of Alexandria in his famous *Elements* (*Στοιχεῖα*) combined the results of previous inquiry into a logically built-up system of plane geometry, arithmetic, and stereometry, upon which we still rely. **Archimedes,** who in 212 was killed at the capture of his native city Syracuse by the Romans, discovered the principles of the differential calculus, recognized that the volume of the sphere amounts to two-thirds of the circumscribed cylinder, and calculated the circumference and surface of the circle with the 96-angle, to mention only a few of his epoch-making achievements. Lastly, **Apollonius** elaborated a new system for the theory of conic sections. The succeeding centuries added nothing new, except that **Diophantus**

(third century A.D.) showed consummate skill in the solution of the equations named after him.

In *mechanics* mathematics was turned to account in the construction of guns and siege-engines, such as, for example, Demetrius Poliorcetes in 304 brought up against Rhodes. Archimedes did astounding work: he calculated the centre of gravity of the sphere and the cylinder, determined the specific weight of a professed golden crown belonging to Hiero by weighing the volume of water displaced by it; and succeeded in propelling a three-master down to the sea by means of windlasses (*cf.* his proud words: δός μοι πᾶ βῶ καὶ κινῶ τὰν γᾶν[1]). He was famous for the ingenious military machines with which he defended Syracuse. For the rest, siege-operations remained until the employment of gunpowder more or less in the same stage which they had reached among the Romans (compare the sieges of Caesar with that of Jerusalem by the Crusaders).

Other ingenious contrivances, which the Alexandrian mechanicians constructed by the employment of hydraulic and atmospheric pressure with levers, screws, toothed wheels, etc., transfer us into the present. Together with oil-presses, cable-tramways, and water-wheels we find Hero's well (named from Hero, by whom we possess a description of such machines), artistic timepieces, automatic washing-machines, which distributed water and pumice-stone (soap), automatic door-openers, puzzle jars, works of art with movable figures—in fact, a complete theatre of automata.

Medicine. The art of medicine was of course practised and developed from the earliest times. In the *Iliad*, where the physicians are mentioned among the 'handicraftsmen' (p. 33), we already find a not inconsiderable knowledge of anatomy and skilful treatment of wounds. In many cases the sick applied to the priests, especially those of Asclepius (Aesculapius), who, apart from their practical experience, completed remarkable miraculous cures by oracles, suggestion, and sympathy (pp. 134, 136). In addition, quacks and wonder-workers, as at the present time, were always extensively patronized owing to the prevalent superstition of the South.

As a science medicine was founded in the south-west of Asia Minor, especially in the island of Cos, where the famous **Hippocrates** lived in the fifth century. The numerous writings preserved under his name give us detailed information on the sound principles, observations, and results of the treatment of the Greek physicians, the better of whom were philosophically educated, but for that very reason in numerous cases started from untenable principles, which were prejudicial to their practice. It may easily be understood that the performances of the surgeons, who were able to gather experience not only in war, but also in the gymnasia, were of most importance. But the treatment of internal diseases remained imperfect, since the accurate knowledge of the organs and their functions was lacking. Most doubtful was the theory (still prevalent in the Middle Ages) of the four chief humours—blood, phlegm,

[1] "Give me a firm standpoint and I set the earth in motion."

black (hence μελαγχολία) and yellow bile—on the correct mixing of which health was said to rest. But the rules of hygiene, how a man by a rational manner of life, by diet, baths, and bodily exercises, can keep himself capable of offering resistance and can ward off diseases, never became obsolete. This science also was fully developed in the third century at Alexandria, where there even existed an anatomical institute, in which far-reaching discoveries were made by scientific dissection. The nerves and their functions (hitherto νεῦρα denoted only sinews and ligaments) were recognized, the heart and brain were investigated, and pharmacology made progress.

In Rome increasing effeminacy soon made the physicians, who sometimes received fabulously high fees, indispensable. By the side of skilfully trained men of science there was no lack of clever charlatans. Even the schools of physicians which arose in the first century before and after Christ were still influenced by absurd theories (*e.g.*, that the veins were filled, not with blood, but with the breath of life, πνεῦμα, oxygen). Thus they often made bad mistakes, but in practice by appropriate method of treatment and rational dietetics they accomplished much that deserves acknowledgment. The instruments dug up in Pompeii give us a high opinion of their ability; in general these hardly differ from those in use to-day.

The theory and practice of the ancient healing art dominated the whole period of the Middle Ages: it was not until after the sixteenth century, as was the case with astronomy, that exact investigation, then just beginning, broke this burdensome spell.

Jurisprudence. Every one has heard of the Roman *Corpus Juris* and its influence on posterity; it is not so well known what important services the Greeks also have rendered in this department. As early as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the law of the strongest was abolished by the written record of the law founded on custom (prescriptive law), and the arbitrary power of jurisdiction was checked. Numerous laws are preserved to us in inscriptions, but none is more comprehensive than the municipal laws of the city of *Gortyn* in Crete, set down in writing in the fifth century, with their well-considered, minutely detailed regulations. Speeches preserved make us familiar with judicial procedure at Athens in the fourth century. Numerous papyrus documents now give us information on the development of Hellenistic law, which not only maintained its independence in face of the Roman, but also in many ways influenced the latter.

In *Rome* the Law of the Twelve Tables (fifth century) for a long time formed the basis of jurisdiction. It was later interpreted and explained by men learned in the law and, as far as it was possible, brought into harmony with new conditions and with the continually increasing number of praetorial edicts. From this Roman jurisprudence originated. The collection, sifting, and arrangement of the material, which had grown to an enormous extent, were the work of the famous jurists of the second and third centuries A.D., such as Julian, Papinian, Ulpian, and Gaius. Starting from practice, they

derived from a host of particular cases, rules, and statutes general notions of law and fixed norms (models), and developed a technical method of juridical thought and judgment that has been a model for all times. But the final compilation of the entire civil law was not completed until 534, long after the Roman Empire had decayed, and, what is more, in Constantinople by command of the Emperor Justinian under the direction of his famous minister of justice Tribonian. This *Corpus Juris Romani* (as it has been called since the twelfth century) from the fifteenth century became the basis of legal education and jurisprudence among all the civilized peoples of Europe, and in a certain sense has remained so to the present day.

Classical scholarship originated in *Alexandria*. There Ptolemy founded the Museum (*Μουσεῖον*), on the model of the Platonic Academy (p. 111), as an institute for the cultivation of the sciences, and in connexion with it two great libraries, one of which contained 500,000 volumes. Here all the works of Greek literature were collected together in numerous copies. The need of cataloguing, critically treating, editing, and interpreting these treasures was the origin of scientific classical scholarship. Its most important representatives were **Aristophanes** of Byzantion and **Aristarchus** of Samothrace, the editors of Homer (on their activity *cf.* p. 18). On the other hand, the philologists of *Pergamon*, under the influence of the Stoics, occupied themselves rather with grammatical and antiquarian questions. The grammatical terminology in particular which we make use of even at the present day in a Latin translation was elaborated by the Stoics (*e.g.*, *ὄνομα, nomen*; *ἀντωνυμία, pronomen*; *ῥῆμα, verbum*; *δοτική, sc. πτῶσις, dativus*; *οὐδέτερον, neutrum*; *παρεληλυθώς, sc. χρόνος, perfectum*). In the second century B.C. classical philology from Pergamon reached Rome, where **Marcus Terentius Varro,** a friend of Cicero, wrote a complete account of Roman archaeology and literature. From the later Roman grammarians **Donatus** and **Priscian** (in the fourth and sixth centuries) the entire Middle Ages then learnt their Latin.

III. RELIGION

(*A*) GREEK RELIGION

THE oldest literary tradition of Greek religion and mythology is to be found in the Homeric poems. But the discovery of the Creto-Mycenaean culture (p. 149) and new researches, especially in the province of comparative ethnology, have taught us that the Homeric mythology was itself the result of a long previous development and sharply divergent from the actual religion of the people.

Its *beginnings* were the same among the Greeks as those which we can still partially observe among primitive peoples of the present day. The *belief in the soul* proceeded from the internal conviction that in man there dwells an *alter ego*, a second self, which temporarily leaves the body in a dream or fainting-fit, and permanently in death. This ' soul ' of the dead is an uncanny being, of whose conditions of life, place of abode, and influence on the living man is ignorant. Hence the relatives place objects of use and value in the dead man's grave and offer him sacrifice. This *cult of ancestors* appears completely developed as early as 1500 in the royal graves of Mycenae (p. 152). Further, the Greeks imagined the lifeless natural objects and phenomena to be all possessed of life and soul (*animism*), and paid timid reverence to the powers of nature, whose might they daily experienced in themselves.

Thus man sees himself surrounded by countless spirits, demons, and ghosts, whom he endeavours to propitiate by sacrifice or to constrain by magic ; but as yet he is unable to form a definite conception of them. For the images of the gods and temples, which for us are closely combined with the idea of the Greek religion, likewise belong to a later stage of development. It is established that the Greeks were at one time addicted to *fetishism* and worshipped their gods in stone, wooden piles, or trees, or even, like the Egyptians, in the form of animals.

In the palace of Minos at Cnossus (p. 149) sacred stone pillars, conventional bull's horns, or the double axe (*λάβρυς*, whence perhaps the name labyrinth) are everywhere brought and set up as symbols of Zeus. Many fetishes remained preserved and were still revered as relics in historical times; *e.g.*, Eros in Thespiae in the form of an unhewn stone. The oracular oak of Zeus at Dodona or the laurel of Apollo are reminiscent of tree-worship. The original animal form of the gods (*cf.* *Ἥρα βοῶπις* and *Ἀθηνᾶ γλαυκῶπις* in Homer) lived on in their epithets (*Ποσειδῶν ἵππιος*, *Ἀπόλλων Δελφίνιος* or *Λυκεῖος*), in numerous myths in which the gods change themselves into animals (as Zeus carries off Europa in the form of a bull), and in the animals which were sacred to the individual gods (the owl of Athene and the snake of Asclepius, which is still known as the symbol of the healing art). Some lower demonic beings, such as the satyrs, the goat-footed Pan,

the centaurs, and the bull-headed river-gods (*e.g.*, Achelous in Ovid) have permanently preserved their semi-animal shape, which has been represented in tasteful form by art.

The figure of a goddess *in human shape* already appears in Cnossus. But, for the rest, it remains a secret how the idea that the gods possessed a human form and qualities like those of human beings gradually penetrated men's minds. In this case the lively imagination of the Hellenic people, its poets and later its artists, created something unique of its kind, something imperishable ; the whole realm of nature with its mysterious life and doings peoples it with forms of all kinds, sometimes mere phantoms, sometimes fully developed and in lively intercourse one with another, and no doubt with human beings ; but in the great gods human nature and divine sublimity are merged into one. In this case also it is impossible for us to trace how out of the countless spirit beings, demons, and powers of nature certain individuals stood out in men's imagination, assumed a definite character, and so became *gods*. These latter were then brought into relations of kinship and subordination with one another. In the names of the companions, favourites, and priests of the great gods, also in their surnames, the recollection of numerous local divinities which were contained in them lived on, though the Greeks themselves were unconscious of it. In the victorious struggles of the Olympian gods with the Titans and giants, as already described by Hesiod about 700 B.C., the transition from the sovereignty of the rude powers of nature to a firmly established order of things is reflected in the world of gods as in that of men, who also in their turn could become heroes (p. 134).

This bestowal of a human character upon the gods (humanization, anthropomorphism) appears already completely developed in *Homeric poems*. The kingdom of the gods in Olympus with Zeus as king is modelled upon the terrestrial kingdom. It is true that the gods are elevated above mortals by their immortality and power, but in other respects they are burdened with all the good and bad qualities of men (p. 30). But this Homeric mythology was originally intended only for the enlightened knights of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, for whom Homer wrote his poems. It was only in consequence of the enormous influence which they exercised that it spread over the entire Hellenic world. The artists then took possession of these forms and elaborated them with ever-increasing magnificence and beauty. Thanks to them, they have become a possession of modern civilized peoples that can never be lost.

But the *religion of the people* differed fundamentally from this religion of poetical and plastic art. In it the old belief and superstition of former times, which the Homeric poems tacitly reject, lived on. The people, just as before, addressed themselves in prayers, vows, and sacrifices to their well-tried local and tribal gods, and believed that they could propitiate the spirits by sacrifice or constrain them by magic rites. The *State* arranged the cult (p. 134) of the native gods of each city ; their worship " in accordance with the custom of their fathers " (*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*) was one of the sacred duties of

FIG. 26. THE PARTHENON ON THE ACROPOLIS
West side.
From a photograph of the Prussian Institute of Photogrammetry.
[See p. 158.]

the citizens, which the individual conscientiously fulfilled, even if in his heart he held freer opinions on the gods. The dreaded accusation of atheism (*ἀσέβεια*) as late as 399 (Socrates) and later might lead to exile or the death-penalty.

But a deeper religious feeling was not evoked even by the most scrupulous performance of worship. The vigorously active desire of man for a personal relation to the divinity remained unappeased and the question of what awaited him after death unsolved. This need was met by the *secret cults*, which spread in the seventh and sixth centuries. The *Eleusinian mysteries* (p. 134) were originally a local cult of Eleusis, which had been taken over by Athens. But every Greek could be received among the lesser initiates (*μύσται*), to whom "the two goddesses," Demeter, the old earth-goddess, and her daughter Kore (Persephone), the mistress of the underworld, promised happiness in life and blessedness after death. The sect of the *Orphics* (p. 134) had its origin in the religion of Dionysus introduced from Thrace, which in its wild orgies carried the faithful away from the present (*ἔκστασις*) and filled them with the godhead (*ἐνθουσιασμός*). The Orphics required from their followers ascetic exercises and purity of life, in return for which they promised them the immortality of

FIG. 27. OLYMPIAN ZEUS (PHEIDIAS)
Coins of Elis in the reign of Hadrian.
From a drawing.
[See p. 183.]

the soul, which after wandering through numerous animal and human bodies may finally become reunited with the godhead. This doctrine exercised considerable influence on the great poets (Aeschylus and Pindar), and on philosophers like Plato.

It was only in connexion with the progress of human culture that individual gods became spiritual, *moral powers*. The Delphian Apollo especially was regarded as the protector and promoter of old Greek piety and morality and, thanks to the cautious and shrewd activity of his priests, obtained far-reaching influence by his oracle (p. 137), as is particularly noticeable in the history of Herodotus. But otherwise there was no ruling order of priests and no universally valid dogmas. Even the attempts to describe the origin of the world, to combine the gods genealogically and arrange them systematically, as was first attempted by Hesiod in his *Theogony* (about 700 B.C.), were the work of individual poets and priests, not firmly established dogmas. But as a matter of fact, just like the Homeric world of gods, they spread further and further and obtained control of religious ideas.

This completely humanized polytheism was attacked by the criticism of the *philosophers*. As early as the sixth century the Eleatic Xenophanes (p. 107) rejected the belief in these gods, "to whom men have ascribed all things that bring shame and disgrace to mortals," and taught that *one* impersonal godhead filled the whole world (pantheism). Aeschylus the tragedian, who sees the moral order of the world embodied in "Zeus," first approaches monotheism. But after him came the Sophists, who destroyed the belief in the existing religion. This disintegrating 'enlightenment' found a suitable fostering soil in the fourth century, while the purified idea of God held by Plato, to whom the godhead was synonymous with the idea of the good, at first remained confined to limited circles (p. 112).

It is true that as late as the third and second centuries there were not wanting attempts to reconcile the old gods with the new education. *Rationalism* stripped the venerable myths of all supernatural elements and explained the gods as mighty kings of olden times, who received divine honours after death as benefactors of humanity (Euhemerism, named after Euhemerus, one of the chief representatives of this line of thought). Or it was attempted to form an *allegorical* conception of the nature of the gods and heroes by arbitrarily interpreting them as personifications of the powers of nature, of virtues, or even of philosophical notions. By this road the Stoics especially sought to find a reconciliation between the acknowledged religion and their philosophical belief in an almighty godhead and a divine providence, and this allegorical interpre-

tation has done much mischief to the explanation of the Homeric poems and, later, of the Biblical writings. But neither rationalism, with its dull naturalness, nor the breaking up of religion into colourless allegories could bring real consolation to souls that were in want of salvation in times of need.

The *decay* of the old belief was hastened by the loss of freedom and the internal disintegration of the *Πόλις*, which had made piety a duty of the citizen ; religion now became a private affair. The campaigns of Alexander and the foundation of the kingdoms of the Diadochi took numerous Greeks to the East, where they became acquainted with new gods, who appeared to them mightier than those of Olympus, and whom they compared and blended with their own native gods (syncretism). With this begins the religious influence of the East upon the West, one of the most important events in the history of religion, since in the end it brought us Christianity.

FIG. 28. HEAD OF SERAPIS

Marble. The original was no doubt the work of Bryaxis. The *modius* (corn-measure) on the head proves this Alexandrian god of the underworld to be a god of fruitfulness.

Rome, Vatican. From Springer, *Kunstgeschichte*.

The *Egyptian secret cults* in particular, which were invested with the charm of the strange and mysterious, attracted the multitude. The mysteries of Isis, the mother of the gods, who was revered by her devotees as the almighty mistress of the upper and under worlds and as the special tutelary goddess of women, in daily religious services and solemn processions afforded satisfaction to the need of salvation as well as to the love of sightseeing, and the exciting mimic representation of the myth of the search for and discovery of the murdered Osiris filled the initiated with rapture. Together with Isis, Serapis (Fig. 28), the imperial god of Egypt and an artificial creation of the shrewd Ptolemies, who as the universal god combined in himself the characteristics and powers of different Greek gods, was an object of veneration.

In Egypt also in the third century was officially introduced the *cult of the ruler*, to which Alexander as the declared son of Ammon and in the consciousness of his unexampled successes had already consented. For the adoration of the ruling king, consequently of a living man, as god was not so far removed from Greek ideas as we might think.

All these innovations, it may here be stated at once, first spread to the greatest extent in the *Roman Empire*. This was the case above all in regard to the *worship of the Emperor*, which was transferred from the kings of the East to the ruler of the world-empire. Augustus was already extolled in inscriptions in the East as " the saviour of the world," while in Rome he only permitted Divus Julius, the late Caesar, to be reverenced as a god. But among his successors the worship of the Emperor became definitely part of

the religion of the Empire, and numerous Imperial statues show the rulers adorned with the attributes of the gods. If, however, such a 'god incarnate' was subject to all human weaknesses and vices the idea of the divine was thereby still further degraded in the minds of the people.

The religious morality of Imperial times is characterized by the enormous increase of *superstition*, which indeed at all times had had power over ancient peoples and even to-day lives on, sometimes in entirely similar forms. The practice of *magic* gained ground. By means of the arts of enchantment, incantation, wonder-working potions, 'sympathetic' devices, and amulets high and low sought to gain power over evil spirits and influence over their fellow-creatures. We need only think of Lucius changed into an ass in Apuleius (p. 97), Goethe's *Zauberlehrling* (magician's apprentice), and the bride of Corinth. *Astrology*, which the old Babylonians had already developed into a sham science, found more and more believers. The planets and signs of the zodiac were placed on an equality with good and evil divinities, and the 'Chaldaeans,' who as early as the time of Tiberius had a great reputation in Rome, knew how to predict the future destinies of man from the position of the constellations. As is well known, the belief in the uncanny arts of magic (trials for witchcraft) and astrology prevailed through the Middle Ages down to modern times.

But, side by side with this, in like manner proceeding from the East, a deep longing for a personal relation to the divinity, for deliverance from the stain of sin, and for certainty as to the fate of the soul after death again took possession of men's minds (p. 129). It was a natural reaction against the shameless sensuality of Imperial times. But the old gods, in whom no one really believed any longer, and their outward worship broke down before this need of heart and conscience. Hence the communities of the Egyptian mysteries increased in number, and new cults pressed in from the East. Among them the worship of *Mithras*, in the second and third centuries, spread to the greatest extent, at the same time as Christianity—nay, even in competition with it.

Mithras, originally an old Persian god of light, was celebrated as "the unconquerable sun-hero" (*Sol invictus*), who slays the original bull, out of which he then forms the world, in order finally to return to heaven (Fig. 29). To the faithful he was the mediator between the incomprehensible universal god and men; he helped them in the unceasing struggle between light and darkness (Ahuramazda or Ormazd and Ahriman) and opened to them after death the approach to heaven by a gradual ascent (seven steps or degrees). But it was only after severe tests that a man could reach the highest degree of the initiated, which revealed to him the deepest mysteries. A kind of baptism and a sacred love-feast outwardly recalled the Christian Sacraments (Eucharist, ἀγάπη). The communities assembled in the underground Mithraic temples, in which the image of the god was set up. Such Mithras-images, since the god found his worshippers above all in the army, have been discovered throughout the Roman Empire.

In all these mysteries, as in the worship of the sun, which in later Imperial times became widespread, the longing of the age for the belief in *one* all-ruling

FIG. 29. MITHRAS RELIEF, FROM HEDDERNHEIM

One of the reliefs executed for the provincial sanctuaries of Mithras. Mithras, in Persian dress, is slaying the bull ; in the arch above are the signs of the zodiac, in the four corners the four seasons of the year the reliefs of the surrounding framework portray legends of the god.

Wiesbaden. From F. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, Plate 3.

god revealed itself. It first found its complete satisfaction in *Christianity*, which was the result of the same generally prevalent religious feelings and hopes, and for that reason so rapidly conquered the Roman world. In virtue of its divine revelation, which guaranteed adoption by God to every believer, its healthy piety, which knew nothing of secret initiations, and its deep morality, which revealed itself in the charitable works of the community, it gained the victory over all the mysteries and likewise over the religiously

inclined philosophy of expiring antiquity (p. 116). Even the persecution of the Christians by the State executive (Nero in 64, Trajan in 100, especially Decius in 250 and Diocletian after 305) was unable to check it; in 313 Constantine the Great issued the edict of toleration which gave equality of rights to all religions, and in 381 Christianity was raised by Theodosius to the State religion.

CULT-FORMS. FESTIVALS AND GAMES

However lively the religious feeling of the Greeks, and however great the extent to which reverence for the gods encroaches upon all departments of public and private life, yet it is hardly anything more than a question of *ritual*, especially as dogma is entirely absent from Greek religion (p. 130). The *State ritual* claimed special importance and consideration. The efforts to intensify the belief in the gods gradually altered the character of the old divinities, as from this time is attested by the surnames referring to their ethical significance and the monotheistic tendencies attached to individual divinities. The same was the cause of the spread of the religion of *Asclepius*, the god of healing, in whose cult the ideas of bodily convalescence and religious expiation were united; his sanctuaries, especially that at Epidaurus, became at the same time centres of the medical art. The old *cult of heroes* also revives and causes almost divine honours to be paid to historical personalities (*e.g.*, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Lysander), until it reaches its culminating point in the deification of the Hellenistic rulers (p. 131).

But after the sixth century a movement begins which seeks to satisfy the needs of the heart and in the end finds its most complete fulfilment in Christianity—namely, *mysticism*. It first meets us in the worship of *Dionysus*, the god of the mysterious power insistent in nature and in the soul of man. To this cult ecstatic festivals or *orgies* of other divinities are soon added; in the Hellenistic period it is also in many cases a question of foreign deities (p. 131), especially Egyptian gods and Mithras. But with this veneration of the gods originating in the old nature-worship there were combined views of deep, speculative wisdom, especially among the sect of the *Orphics*. The thoughts of the believer turned toward the next world, which was often depicted with extravagant imagination in all its horrors. The faithful soul was also absorbed in the thought of a kind of martyrdom of the divinity, especially Dionysus. Religious pessimism, which laid stress upon the sin in the world, sought satisfaction of the heart in ascetic penitential exercises, fasts, and initiations. It is true that by those whose mental and moral standard was lower the idea of purification was only outwardly comprehended, and we frequently hear even of immoral practices in the mystery cults.

But of all the secret forms of worship the *Eleusinian mysteries* were most prominent, owing to their wide diffusion as well as the depth and nobility of the ideas which underlay them. Since the Eleusinian celebrations had

become an Athenian State-cult the most different classes of the population began to crowd to the mysteries. Yet in this case there were no differences of birth: men and women, strangers from Greece and distant lands, even barbarians found admission, if only they were pure—that is, not burdened with blood-guiltiness. Even in later times the great men of Rome like the Emperors underwent initiation.

In addition to the mysteries, to which all the pious were admitted, there were religious services of smaller close communities. To these belong the free worship of the *unions*, which did not reach their highest point until Hellenistic times. Their members always assembled round a religious centre, although their development shows that thereby the social and economic element more and more asserted itself, until in the second century A.D. there was a vigorous revival of mysticism.

As these unions, already to be numbered by hundreds, reckoned among their members non-citizens in great numbers or even consisted exclusively of such, especially as in many cases a foreign cult was practised, even women and slaves were now not entirely excluded from the community of free men. They also included special trading colleges, soldiers' clubs, associations of young men under the influence of the State, colleges of philosophers, physicians, and stage artistes (p. 55), though established artisans' guilds began to make their appearance only in Egypt before Imperial times.

Of *places of worship*, in addition to the temple, the dwelling-house of the divinity with his cult-image and treasures (p. 154), even in later times the place of the old Indo-Germanic worship, the sacred grove, was taken into consideration. The temple itself, however, was only a part of the whole sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), which often became enlarged to an extensive temple-precinct (*τέμενος*, *templum*) and could acquire highly profitable landed property. Before the temple structure stood the holy sacrificial altar.

Generally speaking, the *priesthood* has perhaps never possessed so little power among any other people as among the Greeks. In this department alone the wife took an equal place by the side of the husband as priestess, especially of female divinities. A proper sacerdotal order, with special professional education and possessed of high privileges, or even a graded hierarchy, as at Rome, was therefore impossible, since the priest only existed for the sake of the sanctuary. Hence every sanctuary had properly only one single priest, to whom the frequently numerous staff of temple and sacrificial servants, treasurers, guards, and temple-slaves (*ἱερόδουλοι*) was subordinate. The income of the priests consisted of a share of the victims as well as fees for presenting them, occasionally also of revenue from the temple property. In costume the priest keeps the older Ionic festal dress on all occasions and hence in external appearance much resembles the Oriental priest; his adornment consisted of the long, ungirt chiton with its dazzling splendour of white or purple, his long, flowing hair bedecked with a headband or garland, and at festivals perhaps of special vestments.

In Hellenistic times the influential *foreign priesthood* attains importance

even in face of the Hellenic world. Not only in Jerusalem, but also in Pessinus, the chief city of Galatia, and elsewhere in anterior Asia, there were royal priests. The Egyptian sacerdotal order became specially important, for although certainly it was never Hellenized, it was nevertheless incorporated as an official body in the State official hierarchy, and in many respects became a model for the Christian Church. This Egyptian Church possessed great property. Agriculture, industry, and money transactions yielded it abundant profit. The temple precincts with their dwelling-houses, hostels, schools, and industrial establishments remind us of the great monastic foundations of the Middle Ages.

The *seer* (μάντις) was evidently of greater importance than the priest. The knowledge of the divine will was also of great consequence to the Greek. This was obtained either by signs which present themselves to man unsought or by such as he himself calls forth. To the former belong not only natural phenomena, such as thunder and lightning, eclipses of the sun and moon, and earthquakes, but all kinds of occurrences on the way, chance expressions, changes in sanctuaries and votive offerings. Most important of all were the *signs of birds*, whose flight directed toward the rising sun promised happiness, and *dreams*, the interpretation of which afforded abundant occupation to the greedy crowd of dream-interpreters. The *inspection of the victims* in particular, which was diligently practised in war, afforded the desired signs; the seer announced the future from the condition of the sacrificial victim and the manner in which the sacrifice was consumed. Different kinds of oracles by lot also existed.

But of far greater importance than these forms of a popular, often quite naïve prophetic art are the manifold localities recognized throughout Greece where the divinity imparted information at any time, not only to those who inquired about the future, but above all to those who sought advice: the *oracles*. They were scattered over the entire Hellenic world in vast numbers, and were dedicated especially to Apollo, the god of divination (μαντική). The oldest oracle was considered to be the oracle of the oak at Dodona, already known to Homer, where Zeus, the god of the thunderstorm, announced his will by the rustling of his tree so often struck by lightning. The numerous *dream-oracles* and *oracles of the dead*, which acquired more and more importance in the late period of Hellenism, correspond to the attempts of modern spiritualism.

Especially in places where there were supposed to be entrances to the lower world it was the custom to conjure up the souls of the dead, in order that they might impart information to the living in sleep. On the other hand, those dream-oracles at which man entered into communion with the divinity by sleeping in the temple also served as mysterious means for the recovery of health. Self-suggestion here evidently brought about wonderful cures, without the intervention of the physicians whose activities were connected with the sanctuary. Many sick persons, no doubt, with the ever-increasing spread of superstition, relied on people who understood conjurations and absurd customs, just as at the present day many have recourse to certain 'nature-healers' or Christian Scientists.

The most important oracle, whose world-wide fame extended to Rome as early as the time of the Tarquins, was the response-giving oracle of Apollo (Fig. 30) at *Delphi*.

FIG. 30. APOLLO BELVEDERE

His left hand holds the bow, the right is too theatrically supplied. The general lofty character of the whole points to the artist Leochares.

Rome, Vatican. From a photograph of a cast.

[See p. 194.]

The aged Pythian priestess, in maiden's garb, who had taken her seat on a golden tripod in the holy of holies, was here thrown into a mysterious ecstasy by a drink from a sacred spring and the chewing of laurel leaves. Her disconnected utterances and sounds were written down by the prophet who stood by her side, and a board of priests put them into hexameter verse, whose proverbial obscurity and ambiguity was intended to protect the clever priests against future reproaches. The most important feature of the Delphic and other great oracles was not the announcement of the future, but the imparting of advice in regard to important problems of the present. Thus, for a private individual it might be a matter of inquiry concerning his personal life, conclusion of marriage and adoption, journeys and business undertakings, and the like; or, for the State community, legislation and alteration of the constitution, war and peace alliances, and the founding of colonies, etc. The answers of the Delphian god were above all of importance in the department of ritual, since in this respect to a certain extent they supplied the place of the ecclesiastical authority that did not exist (p. 130). The Delphian god had to decide concerning the admission of new gods, founding of temples, arrangement of cults. With the aid of Delphi Sparta supported her political power, and King Philip of Macedon acquired influence; indeed, even in the Hellenistic age the oracle retained its importance, and later, during the reign of Hadrian, enjoyed renewed

prosperity. Thus the Delphic oracle is an important centre of morality and religion, of agonistic (athletic contests) and enjoyment of life, of art and literature.

Expiatory *purification* is of importance for the Greek as a preparation for his intercourse with the divinity. Persons and things could be taboo, so that contact with them was dangerous and therefore to be avoided in special circumstances or at all times. Purification was effected by sprinkling with water or by fire and vapour, especially the vapour of sulphur. A sprig of myrtle, rosemary, and juniper, but especially a branch of the laurel of Apollo, also had purificatory power, even to expiate blood-guiltiness.

The means of entering into direct communication with the divinity are prayer and sacrifice, the motives petition, thanks, and atonement. The efficacy of the art of *magic*, chiefly practised by foreigners, by which man thought to obtain power even over the gods, was also an article of the popular belief (p. 132).

Prayer appears in Greece generally as a set form of words, in which the invocation of a trinity of gods was very common. In praying to the gods above it was the custom to stand with face and hands uplifted to heaven. Akin to prayer, according to ancient ideas, is the curse, which played a great part in popular superstition, as is shown by the very large number of such utterances preserved, which are written down on lead as especially effective. Similarly, the oath, combined with a sacrifice, concluded with a benediction and self-imprecation.

Prayer was as a rule combined with a vow. The gifts vowed are of a lasting or perishable kind. The former are the *dedicatory offerings* in their enormous variety, from naïvely offered, frequently worn-out articles in use to the most magnificent temple-buildings and immortal creations of plastic art; the others are the *sacrifices*. These are either bloody or bloodless; of the latter drink-offerings deserve special mention.

Sacrificial cakes, fruits, cheese, and incense, and in particular the firstfruits of the field, are usual gifts; as drink-offerings libations of wine and, especially in sacrifices to the gods of the underworld, a mixture of honey, milk, and water are offered. The blood-offering, chosen from the domestic animals generally with reference to the importance and sex of the divinity, is as a rule a meat-offering and, as in Homer's times (p. 31), an occasion for a joyful banquet in contrast to the modest daily meal of the fruit of the field. The State sacrifices, frequently offered on a large scale, which already occur as "hecatombs" in Homer, were public festivities for the whole people: No part of a piacular sacrifice, which also occurred as a sacrifice that accompanied an oath, or was offered to the dead or to heroes, was allowed to be eaten.

At the sacrificial banquets festal rejoicing found expression in *round dances*, which in time gave an impulse to *orchestic* (art of dancing), so highly developed among the Greeks. Like the ancient Germans, the warlike Dorians in particular practised the war-dance (πυρρίχη), which reproduced in mimic play of arms the movements of attack and defence.

The passion for sightseeing also was satisfied by the *festal processions*

FIG. 31. YOUTHS PLAYING BALL-GAME (κερητίζοντες)
From the base of an Athenian statue.
[See p. 176.]

(πομπαί), among which the famous Panathenaea, which took place every four years, attained its great importance in art (p. 184). The campaigns of Alexander and his successors were elaborately mounted with the utmost splendour.

The Greek festival of the gods found its beautiful and peculiar glorification in *agonistic*. Although the idea of mutual rivalry (ἀγών) might extend to all possible departments of life, it found its most beautiful embodiment in the festival contest, especially of post-Homeric times. At first gymnic, hippic, and musical contests were distinguished. Running that took place in the racecourse (στάδιον) in various forms, jumping, hurling the metal discus, throwing at a mark with the javelin (ἄκων, ἀκόντιον), wrestling and boxing, and, lastly, the combination of the last two exercises, the rough Pancratium (παγκράτιον; see Fig. 9), formed part of the *gymnic* contest in which the competitors were naked (γυμνός). As early as the end of the eighth century B.C. the combination of the five games first named in the Pentathlum (πένταθλον, a contest of five events) was introduced.

In older times at first only the gymnic agon flourished; the *hippic*, especially with four-in-hands (after the seventh century also races on horseback), only increased in importance in classical times, when greater weight was attached to outward show. As horseracing presumed keeping and breeding thoroughbred animals it could only be carried on by the well-to-do, who soon allowed themselves to be represented by professional charioteers (Fig. 32).

Aquatic contests with oar and sail, the *regattas*, evidently came into favour among the Hellenes in very early times; the Athenian regatta at the Panathenaea was famous.

The *musical* agon comprised playing on the flute and the lyre, singing to

FIG. 32. CHARIOTEER FROM DELPHI

The effect of the long vertical folds was lessened by the fact that the body of the chariot concealed the lower part of the dress.

Museum at Delphi.

[See p. 180 and Fig. 62.]

the accompaniment of one of the two instruments, but above all the recitation of epic, of all kinds of lyric, and (since the time of Peisistratus, p. 43) of dramatic compositions.

Agonistic attained its highest importance when four games became Panhellenic *national festivals*: at Elean Olympia and Argive Nemea in honour of Zeus, at Delphi for the Pythian Apollo, and on the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon. The Olympian and Pythian festivals were quinquennial (πεντετηρίς)—*i.e.*, they were held once in four years; the other two were trieteric (τριετηρικός)—*i.e.*, held every other year. After the Olympic games had been reorganized, according to tradition in 776 B.C., since from this date every period of four years, the Olympiad, was named after the winner in the

footrace, they rapidly developed into the national festival proper of the Hellenes.

The *Hellenistic period* added several games, especially those in honour of the rulers (soon also of distinguished Romans). The prevalence of music together with the consummate skill of the players on the lyre and flute is characteristic, while the appearance of acrobats and jugglers among the 'artistes' of the festal performances is significant of the taste of the time.

Fig. 33. Stele of a Youthful Victor in the Games
Found at Sunion in 1917. A palm-leaf acroterion is to be supplied as completing the top. About half life-size.
[See p. 180.]

The ideal importance of the 'sacred' national games of classical times is clear from the fact that now, instead of the valuable prizes usual in Homer's times, simple garlands were the proper distinctions of the victor: at Olympia from branches of the wild olive; at Delphi from sprigs of laurel; at the Isthmus from the green leaves of parsley,[1] later of the pine; at Nemea from parsley. It was not until agonistic had become merged in *professional athleticism* that valuable prizes again became customary.

In the national festivals with their sanctuaries venerated by all Greek stocks the idea of the national *unity of the Hellenes* made its way; indeed, the care of such national sanctuaries even led to political union. The temple leagues of the Amphictyons, which had grown up on a religious basis, were more important than the union of Greek cities in the framework of a district, as represented by the Boeotian league of cities, the union of the six cities of Dorian Asia Minor, of the twelve cities of Ionia. For the Ionian stock Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, formed the centre of the union, but most famous of all was the Pylaean Amphictyony, which at first met at Thermopylae and at the beginning of the sixth century amalgamated with the Delphian. Although its interference in politics as a rule turned out disastrous rather than beneficial, at least it took the first step to procure admission into its circles for the idea of humanity in war.

[1 According to others the Greek word means wild celery.—Tr.]

(*B*) ROMAN RELIGION

A Roman national religion only existed in the oldest times. The Romans themselves distinguished two periods: the religion of Numa with its native gods (*di indigetes*) and the introduction of foreign gods (*di novensides*) in the republican period.

FIG. 34. COPPER AS WITH HEAD OF JANUS
From G. F. Hill, *History of Roman Coins*, Plate I.

The modest peasant religion of the old Romans shows the sense of order and the conscientiousness of this people; there is no trace of the imagination that dominated Greek mythology or of artistic plastic talent. Characteristic of this are the *separate gods* fervently worshipped by the people. Their number was enormous, for a strictly limited sphere was allotted to each. Thus there were special gods for all agricultural matters, for ploughs, harrows, weeding, manuring, mowing and reaping, and gathering in the grain; for the germination, growth, and ripening of the crops; for horses and cattle; as well as for the birth and gradual growing up of children, etc. Their names, together with the set forms of prayer, the effect of which could be destroyed by the least alteration, were recorded in the priestly books called *indigitamenta*, owing to which the priesthood early acquired far greater reputation and influence than in Greece. In the house Janus, the door-god (*ianua*), the hearth-goddess Vesta (p. 145), and the *penates*, the protectors of the storeroom (*penus*, provisions), were supreme. The *belief in the soul* was strongly marked. The *lar familiaris*, as a good ancestral spirit, protected family, house, and home. At the side of every man stood his *genius*, at the side of every woman her Juno, and the souls of the dead were revered as good spirits (*di manes*, hence the epitaph D.M., *dis manibus*) or feared as evil demons (*larvae* or *lemures*). The cult of these soul-divinities lasted among the people until the latest times.

The gods of the State, to whom also Janus and Vesta belong, mostly represented nature-powers. At their head stood the trinity Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; later, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva formed the Capitoline divinities. Saturn(us) was the god of agriculture, Vulcan(us) of fire, Pomona the goddess of fruits. The month of spring (March), the beginning of the old Roman year, according to which we still at the present day unconsciously reckon from "September" (the seventh month) to "December" (the tenth month), and also the month in which war was begun, was sacred to Mars. Of all these gods, however, the Romans had no personal conception; consequently, there were originally no images of the gods, no myths, no temples, for the legends of gods and heroes which we read in Livy and Virgil are not popular poetry, but literary fictions due to the influence of the Greeks, by whom the Romans were unwilling to be thrown into the shade.

But as early as the rule of the Tarquins *foreign divinities* came from the cities of Latium, Etruria, and Campania to Rome —*e.g.*, Minerva, Hercules, Castor, Diana. The admission of the cult of Apollo brought the Sibylline Books to Rome, whose injunctions in later times promoted the introduction of other Greek divinities. Especially during the hard times of the Second Punic War recourse was had to them, and from that time the perfect amalgamation of Greek and Roman divinities, which is familiar to us from the works of different authors, gradually becomes complete. Ennius enumerates the "twelve" divinities with their Latin names :

FIG. 35. GEMMA AUGUSTEA

Onyx cameo *de luxe*. Above, Augustus sits enthroned by the side of the goddess Roma; to the left of her stands Germanicus, while Tiberius dismounts from the triumphal car; below, the erection of a trophy; captured barbarians on the right. No doubt a work of the engraver Dioscurides of Asia Minor. The milk-white figures are well brought into relief from the brown ground; the style is cool, elegant, and classical.

Vienna. From a photograph.

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Volcanus, Apollo.

But from the same time together with Greek culture the 'enlightenment' of Hellenistic philosophy also penetrated to Rome, and gradually undermined belief, piety, and morality (p. 131). Thus from the second century an alarming decline of religion began. During the civil wars the temples were desolate, many priestly offices remained vacant, and not a few ancient cults fell entirely into oblivion.

Augustus, after he had given back peace to the Empire, attempted to stem the mischief. The ruined temples were restored, the ritual rearranged and enriched by the revival of venerable usages. The secular games of 17 B.C. for which Horace composed the *Carmen Saeculare* formed the conclusion of this well-intended and grandly planned work of reform. But the Emperor was unable to arouse a living religious feeling and fresh belief in the old gods by these means. Still less was this brought about by the cult of the Emperor introduced by his successors, which became the official State religion (p. 131).

The longing for a religion that had been put to the test, which began to make itself strongly felt among the people, along with internal desolation and

needs of conscience, as already described (p. 131), found satisfaction in the Oriental secret cults, until finally *Christianity* victoriously made its way and shattered to pieces even the outward forms of pagan worship (p. 134).

CULT-FORMS. FESTIVALS AND GAMES

The development of *Roman religion* and with it of the worship of the gods shows two apparently conflicting tendencies united up to a certain point: conservative adherence to the old and willingness to receive the foreign. To this is to be added the importance of individual cults that increased with the political growth of the State. Thus Jupiter on the Capitol obtains his central importance for the Empire, the temple of the Dioscuri in like manner becomes a sacred centre for the knights, as the temple of Ceres houses the plebeian archives, or the temple of Saturn the State treasure (p. 305). Foreign gods make their way into Rome from Italy itself or from the Greek world. After the beginning of the war with Hannibal an extended Hellenization commences in the sphere of religion. Lastly, through the medium of the Greeks the cult of the East also becomes nationalized—from 204 that of the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*) of the Orient, toward the middle of the last century B.C. the worship of Isis, which, at first violently attacked, in Imperial times was practised by women in secret conventicles, often with serious excesses. Next to this the most important Oriental cult of Imperial times was the worship of Mithras (p. 132), which was especially widespread in the Roman army. The *cult of the Emperor* (p. 131) rapidly gained favour in combination with that of the goddess Roma, especially in the provinces.

Even in later times the old *holy places* corresponding to Indo-Germanic usage were to be found in great numbers by springs and field-balks or boundaries, in groves and fields. The most remarkable was perhaps the porch in the Forum, which only stood open in time of war to let the king and his army into the field—the so-called temple of Janus. The origin of the Roman *temple* is to be looked for in Etruria. The transformation of religion toward the end of the regal period early led to the most important foundations. Thus, besides the temple of Diana on the Aventine, those of Jupiter on the Capitol and on the Alban Hill were erected as centres for the worship of the god of the Latino-Roman league.

In the regal period the king himself was the *chief priest*; even after the fall of the monarchy the pious Roman retained a sacrificial king (*rex sacrificulus*) in order not to arouse the anger of the gods by innovations. But he was soon subordinated to the *pontifex maximus*, the head of the *pontifices*, "the bridge-builders," as their mysterious name (which even at the present day is borne by the Pope of Rome) is usually interpreted; he lived together with him in the old royal castle (*regia*). The college of pontifices was entrusted with the control of the religious services and of the priests, with the supervision of all religious measures and decisions in questions of sacred law; it thus combined

the functions of a ministry of worship and a spiritual consistory. The pontifices acquired special importance in political affairs as regulators of the calendar, in that they not only settled the days of festivals, legal transactions, and days of assembly, but also the length of the year; in like manner they materially aided the writing of history by keeping the lists of the consuls and the yearly chronicle connected with them (p. 76). The 'higher' *flamines* (those who 'blew' the sacrificial fire), whose names *Dialis* (of Jupiter), *Martialis*, and *Quirinus* still point to the old trinity of gods (p. 142), were also of great importance. But the most remarkable phenomenon in the whole Roman hierarchy is perhaps the keepers of the sacred fire in the temple of Vesta, so highly regarded in Italy, where fever was rife—the six holy *Vestal Virgins*. They had to serve for thirty years—ten as novices, ten in practising the sacred duties, and ten in teaching them to novices. High honours were bestowed upon them, while neglect of duty or violation of the vow of chastity was severely punished.

The *investigation of the will of the gods* (*divinatio*), whether revealed unsought for in signs (*prodigia*) of all kinds or expressly announced before serious official transactions, was of great importance for the pious Roman, but might also become a powerful instrument in political struggles. The *augurs*, who stood by the side of the high officials when weighty decisions were being taken, were first and foremost engaged in this inquiry, especially by observing the manner in which the sacred chickens ate the food thrown to them. Besides the augurs, the *haruspices* from Etruria exercised their activity in the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial victims. Lastly, in times of great need, the *Sibylline Books*, composed in Greek, were consulted through a special college of priests.

Quite peculiar are certain old *brotherhoods*, as that of the Salii ("Leapers"), priests of Mars; of the Luperci ("Wolves"), who were wrapped in skins; and of the Arval brethren, who prayed for a blessing on the fields in solemn processions (p. 77).

There were precise instructions for religious *purification* (*lustratio*), such as was especially required for *prayer*, which was uttered with hands uplifted to heaven, or for solemn *imprecations*. The most touching kind of such a ceremony was *devotio*, by which a general when hard pressed dedicated himself and the hostile army to destruction, in order to ensure victory to his own people by an heroic sacrificial death. Among the *sacrifices*, which were offered not only in temples, but also in the house, bloodless ones preponderate. The most solemn State sacrifice was the *Suovetaurilia*, the triple sacrifice of a boar, a ram, and a bull. *Processions* and *dances*, as well as *games*, had been customary since the earliest times. Among *festivals* the Saturnalia, which, as a family holiday, corresponds in many of its usages to the modern Christmas festivities, enjoyed the greatest favour. As early as republican times *supplicationes*, acts of humiliation or thanksgiving, lasting from one to three days, in which the temples of the gods were visited by the entire population crowned with garlands, were very prevalent. Combined with these were the entertainments

given to the gods and goddesses (*lectisternia* and *sellisternia*), at which their images kept in the temples, decked out and painted, took their seats before a meal served up to them. The whole population was at the same time kept in good humour by a meal.

The *games* developed with ever-increasing splendour in proportion as their connexion with religion, which was never very intimate in Italy, altogether disappeared.

The great circus (*Circus Maximus*), intended for the old native chariot-races, was frequently enlarged, until in Imperial times it held from 180,000 to 190,000 people (p. 165). Another circus was the Flaminian, built by Gaius Flaminius on the Campus Martius. The great circus games still remained first of all connected with religion, as they were preceded by a solemn procession from the Capitol to the circus.

Each of four four-in-hands had to drive seven times round the row (*spina*, backbone, low wall) of obelisks and statues and the goal (*meta*, conical pillar), and in early Imperial times this spectacle was repeated ten or twelve, later twenty-four times or even more. The prize was not only a crown and later a palm, but in a short time also valuable garments and sums of money, so that many charioteers, although they were of low class and were not considered respectable, amassed great wealth. They formed clubs (*factiones*), distinguished by wearing different colours, and in this character in Byzantine times were still in many instances of political importance.

In spite of many attempts Hellenism was unable to find admission in gymnic and musical games in the narrower sense, but only in *theatrical performances* (p. 79).

Most characteristic of the spirit of Rome, however, is the third class of performances, such as after the time of Caesar took place in the *amphitheatre* (Fig. 36, p. 147), which was first erected as a permanent stone building in 29 B.C.

Most important were the brutal *gladiatorial exhibitions*, as characteristic of the Romans as bullfighting is of the Spaniards.

Derived from Campania, they owed their origin to funeral games, at which prisoners of war were obliged to fight at the bier of a fallen warrior as a substitute for an original human sacrifice. At first criminals were employed, and the training in the gladiatorial schools was excessively severe. But in course of time the increasing number of exhibitions demanded the slaughter of an enormous number of innocent men. In Rome the first gladiatorial games took place at private funerals, but after 105 B.C. they were looked upon as extraordinary performances given on feast-days by the magistrates concerned. In addition to the gladiatorial combats, after 186 B.C. *wild-beast hunts* (*venationes*), real or sham fights—in which unarmed men, condemned criminals, were sacrificed to the fury of the beasts—became popular. Harmless performances with tamed animals also took place, and the appearance of animals never seen before to some extent replaced the modern zoological gardens. At the same time the capture of vast numbers of wild animals ensured the safety of the countries ravaged by them and protected commercial intercourse with distant countries.

Lastly, from the time of Nero, many Emperors arranged sea-fights (*naumachiae*) in the amphitheatre. For this purpose the arena was flooded, unless it was preferred to

FIG. 36. THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE (COLOSSEUM) AT ROME
On the left in the foreground the Arch of Titus is visible.
From a photograph.
[See p. 167.]

construct special basins for the purpose, as Caesar had previously done at his triumphal games, or a natural lake was made use of, as the Fucine lake by Claudius.

It is significant of the expense of providing an exhibition in the amphitheatre that in the middle of the second century, for example, a gladiatorial show cost thirty talents (roughly £7000), and that Milo (p. 85) spent millions on providing such displays.

The difference between the character of the *Roman games* and the Greek agonistic was thus considerable. It is true that every now and again Hellenism became prominent, especially when, after the time of Trajan and his successors, the magnificent organizations of the guilds of Greek actors and athletes, which took in the whole Roman Empire, with their chief seats in Rome, were in a highly flourishing condition, and gymnic contests and Greek show exhibitions were given; but in the main in Imperial times in this department also it was only a question of a brilliant, consummate skill, of showy processions, of voluptuous, immoral pantomimes. All the games were merely pageants, and the enormous amounts spent by wealthy men, who ruined their property, in calling upon numerous freedmen and slaves show the great difference between them and the noble agonistic of the Hellenes.

The gradual extension of the days for games over the year is alone enough to prove this disastrous development. The old Roman games at last took sixteen days; in addition to which there were the plebeian games, the games in honour of Ceres, of Apollo, of the "Great Mother" (*Megalesia*), and of Flora at the close of the second century B.C. Thus, at the end of the republic, there were already sixty-five days allotted to the

festivals. But with these there were further associated triumphal and funeral games, memorial festivals of Sulla's and Caesar's victories, and in Imperial times half of the days of the year were entirely taken up with games.

The magnificence of the entire proceedings of the games in Imperial times is just as significant of the splendour of Imperial Rome as its attendant phenomena are of the morality of the capital of the world. Their pernicious effect is clearly shown in the habituation of the people to idleness, brutality, and lust, which seized upon all classes of society; even Emperors appeared in public, and ladies of distinction did homage to jockeys, pugilists, and actors in mimes. But the dangerous significance of the games showed itself in the fact that in Imperial times they definitely took the place of the popular assemblies; that here the cry *panem et circenses*, passionate and unchecked, penetrated to the ear of the Emperor; that here men ventured to demand from him everything that passion and greed craved for—presents of all kinds, lottery-tickets, banquets, illuminations, even of the kind represented by the fearful torches of Nero.

IV. ART

(*A*) AEGEAN (CRETO-MYCENAEAN) ART

THE primeval age of Greece, sung of by Homer in his poems, the second millennium B.C., has only been made known to us by successful excavations during the last few decades. Heinrich Schliemann, a merchant who from early youth had been filled with enthusiasm for the Homeric poems, by his excavations (1870-80) made Troy and Mycenae rise again from the rubbish-heap; and Sir Arthur Evans, by extensive diggings in Cnossus, has proved that the centre of the culture of the second millennium B.C. was the island of Crete. The legend of Theseus and the Minotaur before this indicates that the Greek mainland was formerly dependent upon the rulers of Crete. The story of the Labyrinth has grown up from the recollection which the Greeks of the mainland had of the widely ramified old Cretan palaces. We have become acquainted with such rulers' seats on the site of the ancient Cnossus and Phaestus.

They are mighty palaces, lavishly adorned, freely supported on rising ground. Round a wide paved court are arranged rooms for men and women, living rooms, sleeping rooms, bathrooms, and rooms for religious purposes. Rooms the walls of which are broken up in pillar arrangements, so that air and light, so necessary in the hot climate of Crete, might penetrate unhindered, are characteristic. Colonnaded staircases lead to the upper stories; wide, open flights of steps outside serve at the same time for communication and as seats at shows or sports of some kind; shafts or 'light-wells,' drainage-systems, and latrines with a supply of water provide for healthy conditions of life. Magazines with long rows of large clay store-jars bear witness to the wealth of King Minos and his successors. The rulers of Cnossus and Phaestus must at that time have possessed a strong fleet, since they had no need to protect the riches of their residences against hostile attacks by fortress-walls. As the palaces remained standing for several centuries, were rebuilt, and new buildings added, the finds also belong to different periods: to the Stone Age, Early (before 2000 B.C.), Middle (2000–1700 B.C.), and Late Minoan (1700–1000 B.C.) periods. This culture is called Minoan from the Cretan ruler Minos, Aegean or Creto-Mycenaean from the sphere of its extension.

The Cretans did not as yet know how to carve large statues in marble or to cast in bronze. But all the other branches of art reveal to us unsuspected brilliant artistic talents in this pre-Greek people. In large wall-paintings we see solemn processions, flying fish, scenes of war and the chase. The men have slender waists and as a rule only wear a loincloth. The women wear bodices

FIG. 37. THE LION GATE AT MYCENAE

Above the lintel (about 17 feet long and nearly three feet thick) a triangular opening left in the wall is filled by a thin stone slab (the lion-relief) to lighten the weight.

From a photograph.

tightly drawn in ; the skirt falls in ample flounces, a refined costume elaborated during a long Court life. The dangerous bull-baiting, in which young men and girls at full speed jumped over the animals springing along, was a very favourite form of amusement. One fresco-painting is crowded with a motley throng of spectators, reddish-brown men and white women, who are represented with unerring strokes on the white plaster. Costly works of most varied technique, in gold, silver, ivory, faïence, and precious stones illustrate the splendour and luxury of the Court of King Minos. Hunting-scenes in precious metal and enamel are inlaid in the bronze weapons with perfect technical skill. Long rows of cut stones, gold rings, and clay seals afford us a glimpse of the life and religious ideas of that time. Here and on the monuments we see priestesses and priests receiving sacred gifts, such as flowers, animals, and consecrated garments, from the faithful ; the pillar is reverenced as a religious sign ; but the occurrence of the double axe and bull's horns as a sacred symbol of the divinity is especially frequent. Fetishes that have been discovered prove the adoration of stones at the beginning of religious development. It is not until Late Minoan times that the attempt is made to reproduce female goddesses also in human form, as the contents of some of the domestic sanctuaries in Crete testify. The worship of horns as holy vessels with

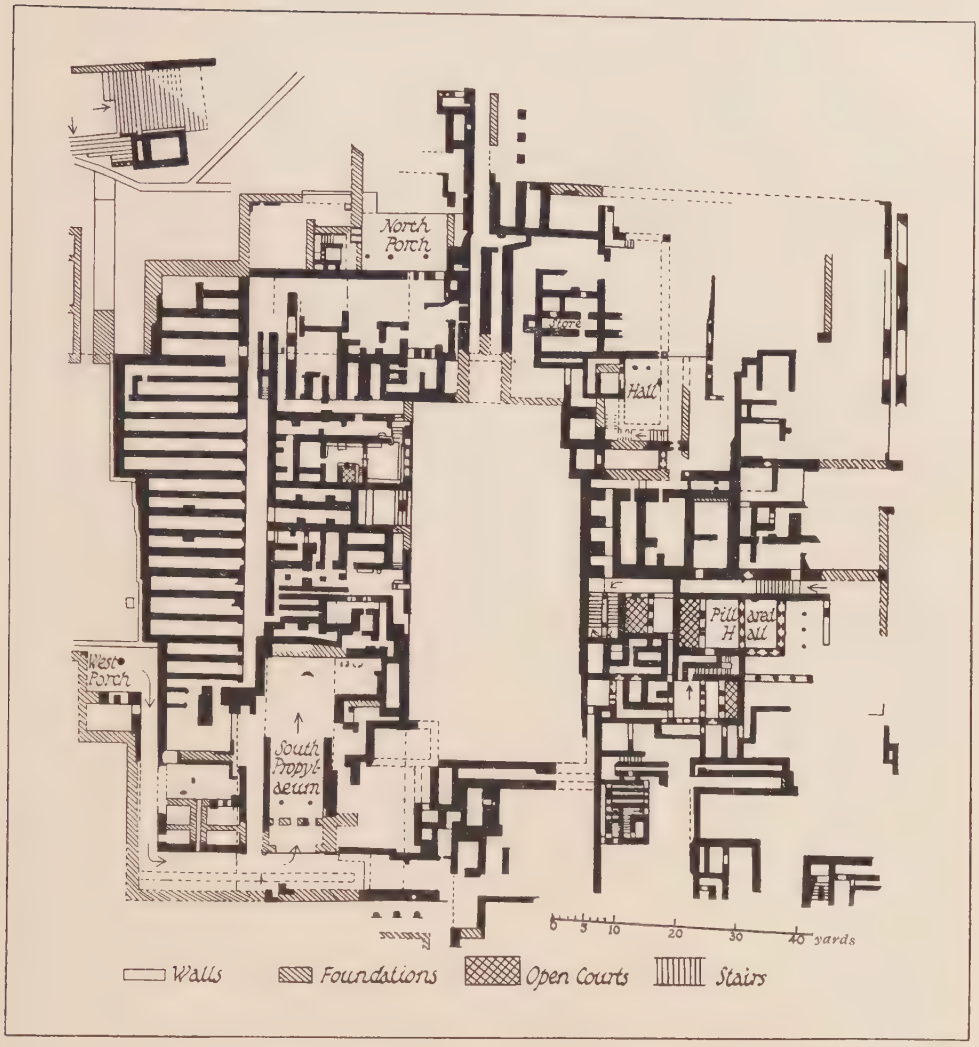


FIG. 38. PLAN OF THE PALACE OF CNOSSUS

spouts in the form of bulls' heads again reminds us of the story of the bull-headed Minotaur. All these works delight us not only by their valuable material, but especially by their lifelike execution. The scene on two gold cups found at Vaphio in the Peloponnesus, but certainly Cretan work, creates a charming effect. One shows the dangerous capturing of wild bulls, the other an idyllic scene from the life of these animals. Vases form the bulk of the finds.

After the incised decorations of the Stone Age and the linear ornaments of the Early Minoan period, vases of the finest workmanship, the Kamáres vases, meet us in the Middle Minoan period (Fig. 39). These are painted on a lustrous black ground with polychrome patterns elaborately intertwined. In the Late

FIG. 39. KAMÁRES AMPHORA FROM PHAESTUS

The plant patterns are greatly altered and adapted to the play of the lines. The ornamentation shows little regard for the structure of the vessel as compared with Greek art proper, but luxuriantly covers the shoulder, belly, and handle.

From Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei.*

Minoan style marine animals and plants in lustrous black glaze are painted on the light clay ground. The painting of the stirrup-vase (Fig. 40) is charming as a picture from the depths of the sea. A cuttlefish is swimming between coral and seaweed. Specially large vessels, tectonically articulated into neck, belly, and foot ornaments, are called 'palace-style vases.' Toward the end of the Late Minoan style the patterns, once so full of life, become so stiff that one can scarcely recognize their natural models any longer.

On numerous clay tablets we observe the development of a script that arose from pictography, but as yet its decipherment has only begun. The culture of the Cretans was so brilliant that we can follow up its rays far off in the Mediterranean and in the East, especially in Egypt. Egyptian finds on Cretan soil and Cretan works which came to light in Egypt attest a lively intercourse between the two countries. On Egyptian wall-paintings the Cretans (Keftiu) appear bringing gifts. The Cretans learnt very much from the older culture of the Egyptians in the technical production of wall-paintings and works in metal and precious stones ; but their dependence never extended to the language of forms. What we so much admire in Cretan works—the lively formative faculty and a clear understanding of the organic life of plants and animals—the Cretans did not learn from a foreign country, but, thanks to their pronounced artistic talents, derived from themselves.

Cretan culture extended to the Greek mainland, where Homer's Achaean princes ruled. In *Mycenae*, the castle of Agamemnon, the gate (see Fig. 37) remained always above ground, an important witness to a previous age that had disappeared. After more than three thousand years of rest Schliemann opened the graves of the princes of Mycenae. The so-called Treasury of Atreus is a vast dome built in an excavation cut in the side of a hill ; an entrance-passage (*dromos*) leads to the vaulted main chamber in the shape of a beehive, which by its material and measurement (about fifty feet in diameter, and little less in height) produces a powerful effect. It was formerly used for the worship of the dead by torchlight ; the dead themselves lay in a quadrangular chamber close by. The entrance-gate to the main chamber was adorned in Oriental style with rich half-columns, gay-coloured stones, and bronze decoration ; the interior of the vault was regularly faced with metal rosettes. The inner lintel of the doorway ($27\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and about 120 tons

in weight) affords good evidence of the technical capacity of the builder of the grave. Such dome-graves and shaft-graves resembling modern vaults concealed splendid weapons, inlaid daggers, ornaments of all kinds, golden face-masks, cut stones, and finger-rings. All these finds belong to the Late Minoan style and still at the present day enable us to realize vividly the Mycenae "rich in gold" celebrated by Homer.

FIG. 40. STIRRUP-VASE OF THE FIRST LATE MINOAN STYLE FROM GURNIA

The Cretan vase-painters reproduce marine animals from personal observation. The cuttlefish (*octopus vulgaris*) produces a very lively effect with its naturally moved prehensile arms with the nipples and the uncanny eyes.

From Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei.*

The structure of the palaces on the mainland is best preserved at *Tiryns* in Argolis (see Fig. 7). Surrounded by mighty fortress-walls the palace occupies a commanding position on the castle-hill that rises steeply from the level ground. It is much smaller than the Cretan palaces and, in contrast to these, is protected by its "Cyclopean" walls against hostile inroads. A flight of steps led from the plain to the narrow entrance in the east side of the castle-wall; anyone who forced his way up here would have to offer his exposed right side to the defenders. Passing through two gateways, which already show the characteristics of the later propylaea, a colonnaded court is reached, containing the men's hall, about forty feet long by thirty feet broad, with the circular hearth. A second court extends in front of the women's apartments. The chief buildings are concentrated in the middle of the upper citadel; the lower town served as a citadel of refuge for the people.

In *Troy* nine layers of culture lie one upon another; the second and sixth settlements appear to be the most important. The second layer, which Schliemann erroneously took for the Homeric, concealed a rich store of gold, the so-called Treasure of Priam (now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin). It yielded a number of 'face-vases,' which in form imitated human heads and bodies. In the sixth layer Dörpfeld recognized the citadel sung of by Homer, which was most flourishing about 1500 B.C., contemporaneously with the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae. Parts of the high outer wall and a strong tower of the castle-wall are still standing.

The Creto-Mycenaean epoch came to an end as the result of the Dorian

migration at the end of the second millennium. The bearers of the old culture amalgamate with the elements of the new people, and co-operate with them in creating the national Hellenic art.

(*B*) GREEK ARCHITECTURE

THE THEORY OF FORMS

Temples. The Greek temple is a development from the dwelling-house of man. It is chiefly the place for setting up the image of the gods, no meeting-place for the devout congregation. While in the Christian churches, at different periods of style, the development of the front and interior goes hand in hand—indeed, the adornment of the interior often becomes the most important thing—in the Greek temple the attempt is chiefly made to find constantly new solutions for the problem of outward form. In the oldest times the relations of the whole and the forms of the individual parts are still quite distinct; it is not until the sixth century B.C. that fixed rules are developed which confine the construction to strict, often mathematically exact directions. The Greek temple is complete of its kind. Rich painting (polychromy) supports the effect of the individual members; all the forms clearly give expression to their task of support or pressure. The symmetry and proportion of the parts and of the whole, together with the situation amid glorious natural surroundings, arouse a deep impression in the spectator.

Different Kinds of Temples. The temple-statue stands in a rectangular *cella* (ναός), in front of which is an open vestibule (πρόναος), often with a corresponding vestibule in the rear (ὀπισθόδομος), adjoining the closed back-wall of the cella. In many large temples the interior of the cella was divided into naves by columnar arrangements (Fig. 41). The light enters only by the door, not through an opening in the roof, which was the case only in a few temples, the so-called hypaethral. A temple whose cella is surrounded on all four sides by a row of columns is called *peripteros*. This most perfect form of the Greek temple is at the same time the commonest. Simpler forms (Fig. 42) are the temple *in antis* (projecting corner-posts terminating the lateral walls of the cella, with two columns between), the *prostyle* (with a row of columns in front of only one of the narrow walls of the cella), and the *amphiprostyle* (with a row of columns in both front and rear).

Kinds of Style (*Orders*) (Fig. 43). The three styles of the ancient temple, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, are chiefly distinguished by the different formation of the column. The effect produced by the Doric is that of weight and seriousness; by the Ionic richness and charm; by the Corinthian splendour and regularity. These styles do not change places, like Gothic and Romanesque in the Middle Ages, but the first two continue side by side in the sixth century B.C.; the Corinthian style first appears in addition at the end of the fifth century. The employment of these kinds of style did not remain confined to definite stocks; the chief temple of Ionic Athens was the Doric Parthenon. The column consists of a base, the shaft, composed of single drums, and the capital that terminates it. The Doric column has no base, is short and solid, with sixteen to twenty shallow flutings, meeting in a sharp edge; in the centre it exhibits a swelling (ἔντασις, a slight convex curve), which has an agreeable effect on the eye; toward the top it tapers off; it is terminated by a capital, which is composed of a round knob (ἐχῖνος, convex moulding,

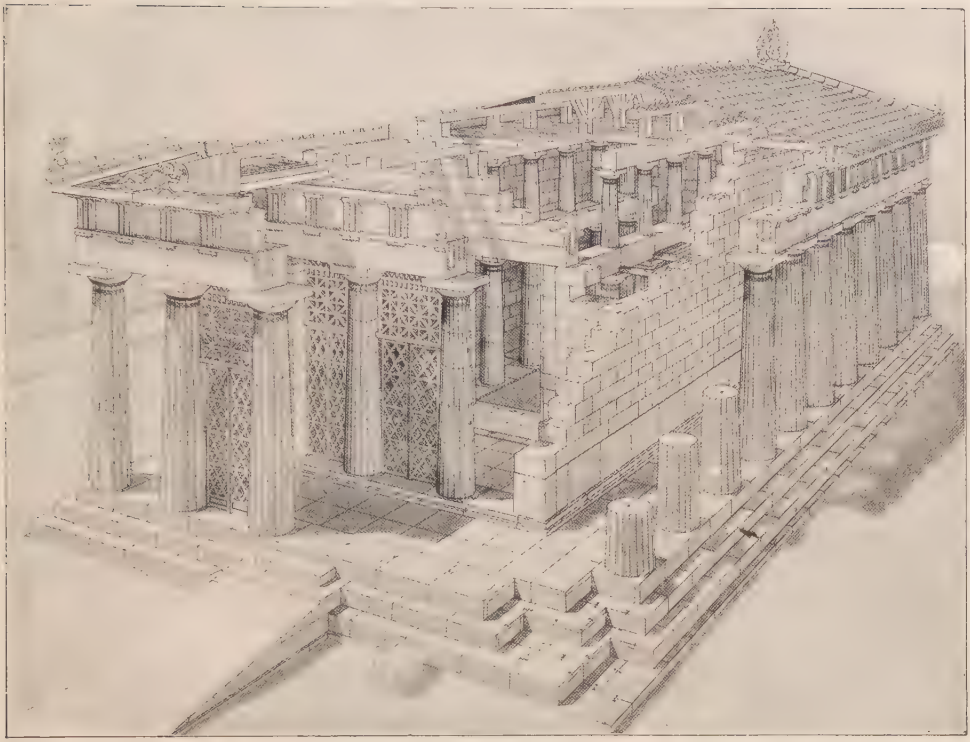


FIG. 41. STRUCTURE OF A DORIC TEMPLE (AFTER FIECHTER)

The removal of part of the roof and of the wall of the cella in this drawing of the temple of Aphaea in Aegina permits a view into the interior of the cella, which is divided into three naves by two-storied rows of columns. Light reached the interior only through the opened doors.

ovolo) and a flat, square stone tablet that crowns it (*abacus*). The Ionic column stands on an elaborately organized and moulded base, is high and elegant, and has twenty-four deep flutings separated by fillets. The echinus of the capital is ornamented with a string of beads and egg-and-dart moulding; it is surmounted by a channel or depressed surface, both ends of which terminate in spirals (volutes). The Corinthian column is only distinguished from the Ionic by the capital, which has the form of a cup or basket (κάλαθος), round which acanthus leaves shoot up; in contrast to the Ionic capital, it offered from all sides, even at the temple corners, a uniform view, and thus permitted a satisfactory solution of the application of the capital to a corner.

Construction of the Temple. As a rule three steps lead to the stylobate, the upper of the three steps on which the columns stand; this is in many cases slightly convex toward the centre, as otherwise it would appear according to optical laws to have subsided (curvature of the stylobate). On the columns rests the entablature, consisting of three main parts: first, a stone beam, the architrave (epistyle), over this the frieze (ζωφόρος, bearing figures), and above that the projecting cornice (geison). In the Doric style the frieze is broken up into metopes (front slabs or facings ornamented with sculpture) and triglyphs (stone slabs with three vertical fillets); in the Ionic it is a continuous stone beam ornamented with reliefs. In the Ionic style of Asia Minor the dentil (toothed moulding) is seen underneath the cornice; it had its origin in the beam-ends of the original wooden structure. The low saddleback roof leaves a triangular space

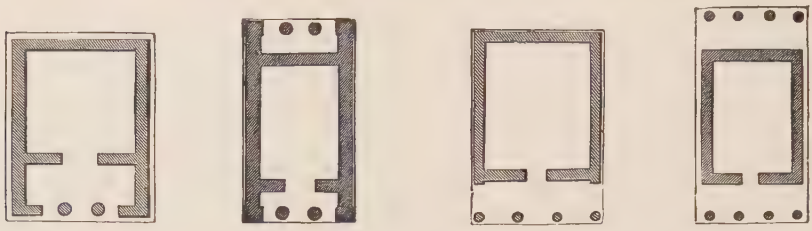


FIG. 42. SIMPLE OUTLINES OF GREEK TEMPLES
From Wägner and Baumgarten, *Hellas*.

(tympanum, drum, or gable well) on each narrow side, in which the gable groups of sculpture in the round find a place. The top and corners of the gable are generally ornamented by figured top-pieces (acroteria). The flat covering is constructed of beams, on which stone slabs are superposed, ornamented on the open underside by coffers (panels).

Ornament. The decoration (Fig. 44) used in the Greek temple has exercised its effect down to our own days. The fanlike palmette, the elaborately intertwined meander, the egg-and-dart and string of beads (astragal), both derived from overhanging rows of leaves, as the 'wave' from the heart-shaped water-leaf (Lesbian cymation, cyma), are still favourite forms of decoration.

PROFANE BUILDINGS. The Greek *theatre* (p. 52), situated in the open air, is unroofed and generally supported upon the slope of a hill. Sometimes the semicircular tiers of seats are cut out of the natural rock. They surround the orchestra, which in classical times was circular; later it was semicircular and terminated by the stage-buildings (σκηνή). The *stadium* was used as a footrace course. At Delphi a rather narrow rectangle about 600 feet long is rounded off in horseshoe shape; several ascending rows of seats enclose the course, in which starting-place and finish are marked. *Private houses* in classical times were as a rule simple and without ornamentation. It is not until the Hellenistic period that they become more elaborately fashioned and, in the interior especially, sumptuously decorated. Differing from the modern house, the living-rooms rarely have windows opening on to the street, but face inward toward the court, so that the occupants were better shut off from the noise and dust of the street. Hence an ancient street as a rule exhibited quiet and monotonous rows of houses, and a rich development of the façade was impossible. The *bouleuterion* (council-house) and *gymnasium* (for bodily and mental training) gradually develop into show buildings.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

The temple of Hera at Olympia belongs to the older period of the Doric style. The oldest columns of the *Heraeon*, a peripteros (p. 154) with six columns on the front and sixteen on the side, go back to the seventh century B.C.

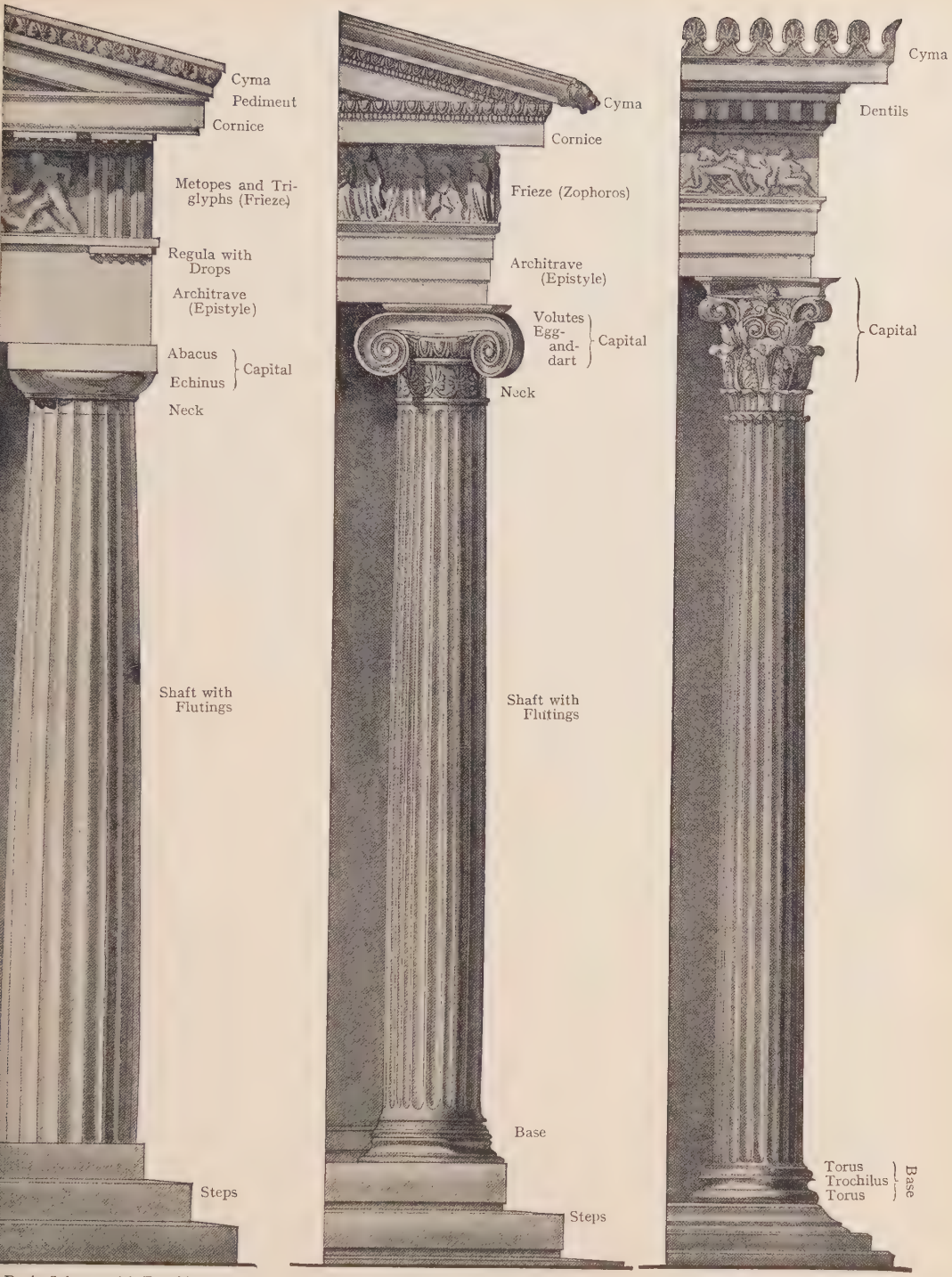


FIG. 43. THE THREE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS

FIG. 44. ORNAMENTAL FRIEZE OF THE ERECHTHEION

Below, a broad band of ascending leaf-ornaments (palmettes); above, a leaf-wave (cymation), consisting of a string of beads (astragal) and Ionic egg-and-dart; at the top, a Lesbian cymation, consisting of a string of beads and water-leaves.

From a photograph (section).

Originally all the columns were of wood, the walls of the cella consisted of clay bricks, the decoration of the entablature of terracotta. When the Greeks of Lower Italy adorned their temples with stuccoed limestone columns, and later even with marble columns, the unsightly wooden columns in the Heraeon also were replaced by the new, hard material. The condition of the Doric style about 500 B.C. is best shown in the *temple of Aphaea* in Aegina (Fig. 41), situated on a woody height above the sea. The so-called *Theseion* erected by Pericles at the foot of the Acropolis is the best preserved of all the Greek temples.

The mighty Ionic buildings of the sixth century B.C., the temples of Hera in Samos, of Artemis at Ephesus, and of Apollo Didymaeus at Miletus, have all disappeared except for a few remains. The culminating point of Doric architecture is to be found in the citadel-temple of the Athenians, the *Parthenon* (maiden's chamber; see Fig. 26). In this case it was a matter of erecting a splendid festal temple for the city-goddess who had led the Athenians to victory in severe struggles. Solemn and stately it stands on the rock of the Acropolis, even in ruins a forceful and impressive sight. Separated from all profane surroundings, lifted above everyday life, it is a noble dwelling for the pure, mighty Athene. It was built by Ictinus, and adorned by Pheidias. Well might the Athenian look with pride upon this sanctuary.

FIG. 45. PORCH OF THE CARYATIDES (ERECHTHEION)

Six maidens without difficulty support the entablature, which is lightened by the absence of the frieze. Although they perform the work of columns the effect is graceful and natural.

From a photograph by Beer.

The Parthenon, a peripteros of eight by seventeen columns, was begun 447 B.C. and in the main completed 438 B.C. It was used as a Christian church, dedicated to the Virgin Mother, in the Middle Ages, and as a mosque during the Turkish occupation. It was not until the bombardment of Athens by the Venetians in 1687 that a powder explosion reduced the splendid building to ruins.

The *Erechtheion*, in which the Ionic style underwent its finest development, is a building of a different kind, but no less beautiful than the Parthenon. Grace and richness of plan, beauty and charm of the individual forms of construction, secure for this temple its effect even by the side of the imposing Parthenon.

The structure exhibits a peculiar ground-plan, as it had to replace two older sanctuaries and had to make the most of the difference in level of the ground (about 10 feet). Since it served as a double temple for both Athene and Poseidon it had to contain the wonderful tokens of both divinities. The cella of the city-goddess Athene Polias, situated on the higher level, had an Ionic portico with six columns, and contained the statue of the goddess, carved in olive-wood, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and for which the distinguished maidens of the city wove a peplos every year. The lower, western half belonged to Poseidon Erechtheus. It was accessible through the great north portico

FIG. 46. TEMPLE OF ATHENE NIKE ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS

From a photograph by Beer.

with four columns in front, and contained the salt well which Poseidon was said to have called forth from the Acropolis rock with his trident. To the south a well-staircase, the portico of the Maidens or Caryatides (Fig. 45), furnished the connexion with the higher ground. A gate on the west led into the open air, to the sacred precinct of Pandrosus, the daughter of Cecrops, where the olive-tree first planted by Athene was preserved. The northern chief portal of the sanctuary appears especially rich and beautiful, and has often been imitated in modern times. The building of the whole temple was completed after the death of Pericles during the Peloponnesian War. The building, greatly dilapidated, was used by the Turks as a harem, and in modern times has been in great part restored with the old freestone blocks.

Little older than the Erechtheion is the small temple of *Athene Nike Apteros*, the wingless goddess of victory, charmingly situated on the western spur of the Acropolis (Fig. 46). It is an Ionic amphiprostyle of cramped proportions; the frieze represents the engagements at Plataea. The temple, turned into a battery by the Turks, was reconstructed, stone for stone, by Ludwig Ross in 1835.

The *Propylaea*, the splendid gate at the entrance to the Acropolis, built by Mnesicles (437–431), is at one and the same time the summit of the steep ascent to the citadel and a highly effective thoroughfare to the holy places.

FIG. 47. ATHENE GROUP FROM THE ALTAR OF PERGAMON

Berlin. From *Altertümer von Pergamon*, iii, 2, Plate 12.

On this structure Doric and Ionic columns are employed side by side. Lower wings, of which the northern one contained the pinacotheca with paintings by Polygnotus and others, project right and left from the Doric façade of six columns. The interior of the gate forms a portico with three aisles, the central part of which, flanked by Ionic columns, is so wide that sacrificial animals and horsemen could easily pass through (*cf.* the Brandenburger Thor in Berlin and the Propylaea in Munich).

When Herostratus in 356 B.C. made a melancholy reputation for himself by setting fire to the old, famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the *Artemision* was magnificently rebuilt in the Ionic style; as in the old building, part of the shafts of the columns was ornamented below with reliefs, in which work the famous sculptor Scopas took part.

About the middle of the fourth century B.C. the sepulchral monument of Mausolus, Satrap of Caria, and his wife Artemisia was made into one of the wonders of the world. The *Mausoleum* (*Μαυσολεῖον*), 140 feet high, produced an effect like that of the Pyramids, and has given its name to later sepulchral structures of great size. The cella, surrounded by thirty-six Ionic columns,

rose on a stone socle about 220 feet wide ; above was the roof in the form of a pyramid of steps, crowned by a four-horsed chariot.

The *Monument of Lysicrates* at Athens, which Lysicrates caused to be erected for setting up a tripod, the prize won by him in the dramatic contests when he was choregus (p. 52), is effective in its elegance and refinement. On a square basement rises a circular building with Corinthian half-columns (Fig. 43) ; a marble pavilion-roof, crowned by a finial of acanthus leaves, charmingly finishes off the whole.

The splendid buildings of the *Hellenistic period* are known to us chiefly as the result of excavations conducted in the last decades by the Berlin Museum in Pergamon, Miletus, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Priene. The ostentatious successors of Alexander the Great set architecture great tasks. Cities, palaces, temples, council-chambers, altars, markets, were to be newly planned. Several stories were built one above the other, and the arched form of construction was taken over from the East ; but its possibilities were not made the most of. The fine sense of proportion was lost. The Doric column was made too slender, the intercolumniation widened too much, and the Ionic and Corinthian columns were worked up to an elegant and highly effective form. In Athens the rebuilding of the gigantic temple of Olympian Zeus, begun by Peisistratus, was started in the second century B.C., but not completed till the time of Hadrian (A.D. 135). Its Corinthian columns, about 58 feet high, still amaze us. In the so-called *Tower of the Winds* the cistern for the water-clock constructed for the Athenians by the Syrian Andronicus is still preserved.

The chief advance of Hellenistic architecture is to be recognized in the development of the laying out of cities. Alexander the Great is said to have already founded seventy new cities, and the decay of his world-empire into several partial empires set the builders of cities fresh tasks. They fell back upon the theories of Hippodamus, an architect of the Periclean age. The older plans of cities (*e.g.*, Athens) exhibit irregular rows of streets, conditioned by the nature of the ground, the need of water-supply, and their historical development. Hippodamus demanded the laying out of straight streets intersecting one another at right angles, with open spaces at definite spots, and converted his theories into reality in his reconstruction of the Athenian seaport of the Piraeus. Hellenistic architects developed the system of Hippodamus still further. Priene offers us a model example of a smaller Hellenistic city (pp. 217–218).

The centre of such a city is formed by the chief market-place, in which public buildings and porticoes with shops are situated ; smaller markets by the side of it serve for the sale of vegetables and fish. The regular streets, paved as a rule, are lined with houses of one and two stories, on the ground floors of which there are often shops. Besides the temples and extensive colonnaded porticoes, which afforded a welcome protection against sun and rain, the bouleuteria (council-chambers) and the places of exercise for adults (gymnasia, palaestra) are splendidly equipped. In Miletus, as in Priene, the two-storied bouleuterion is laid out like a theatre in the interior ; in front extends a monumental Doric court with a Corinthian entrance portico. The Hellenistic city-

architect shows admirable care in regard to laying on and drawing off water. Fresh spring-water is brought to the cities from a considerable distance, the clay and lead pipes are made capable of resistance by embedding, a plant for sewage purification is constructed, and the whole town is covered with a network of conduits, wells, and provision for springs. In Pergamon high-pressure conduits conveyed the water to the citadel. In one place eleven conduits were found side by side beneath the old pavement.

While Alexandria, the famous capital of the Ptolemies, lies buried under the modern city, *Pergamon* acquaints us with the brilliant residential capital of the Attalids. Above the lower city the acropolis ascends in three terraces, all covered with colonnaded buildings, already from its situation an architectural picture of majestic effect. The temple of Trajan, the temple of Athene Polias, the palace, and the library occupy the highest terrace. On the middle terrace is the *altar of state*, which Eumenes II erected about 180 B.C. as a thanksgiving for numerous victories. A flight of steps, by which the platform, the place of sacrifice proper, is reached, cuts into the almost square substructure adorned with the famous frieze of the giants (p. 200). This is fringed by a wall decorated toward the interior with a smaller frieze ; round the edge of the platform runs an Ionic columnar arrangement. The theatre, with stage and adjoining corridor, as well as the market-hall, is closely connected with the lowest terrace.

Owing to the increase of structural problems, the augmentation of constructive expedients (several stories, arched construction), and the relaxation of the rules in force in classical times, Hellenistic forms the transition to Roman architecture.

(*C*) ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

THE THEORY OF FORMS

In architecture the Romans, by a combination of the columnar and flat-roof structure of the Greeks with arch and vault constructions, as well as by gathering up a variety of individual spaces into one large, organic composition, attained to technically bold and artistically magnificent creations, which on their part in turn become the foundation and model for the creations of the Renaissance and more modern times (St Peter's at Rome, the Leipzig Central Station). The rise of Rome to the position of mistress of the world brought with it a vast number of fresh architectural problems. The numerous elements of the native old Italo-Etruscan style of architecture amalgamated into a unity (the Roman style) with the forms that made their way into Rome from Greece *via* the colonies of Lower Italy in Imperial times, whose buildings, preserved in great numbers, determine for us the characteristic features of Roman architecture. In no department of art has the Roman, so gifted in the solution of practical problems, rendered such great services as in architecture.

FIG. 48. PIECE FROM THE SCROLL-FRIEZE OF THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

In the scroll-work are acanthus, rosettes, palmettes, and swans—the sacred birds of Apollo, the deity greatly venerated by Augustus.

Rome, Museo delle Terme. From a photograph.

Styles of Architecture. In Imperial times the simple old Dorian columnar arrangement disappeared. In Priene the base of the Ionic column is set upon a square slab (plinth), and the capital sometimes receives four diagonal volutes instead of two. The rich Corinthian order becomes predominant. The Composite capital first appears on the Arch of Titus, in which Ionic volutes are turned up on the acanthus calyx. In the entablature there follow upon one another the architrave, the frieze (as a rule undecorated), and the cornice with rich mouldings, the latter consisting of a row of dentils and consoles, which support the cornice.

Structure of the Façade. The house-walls are separated by cornices into stories (see Fig. 36), the single rows of floors articulated by half-columns and pilasters, which sometimes end in arches, sometimes in gables ; it is just this kind of articulation that we frequently find taken up again in the Renaissance palaces.

Structure of the Vault. The over-vaulting of great spaces is considered the chief achievement of Roman architecture (Figs. 51 and 99). The *barrel-vault* has the form of a half-cylinder and rests only on the walls ; the *cross-vault* is formed by the intersection of two barrel-vaults and is supported by pillars. The core of the wall-work consists of a mass of cement made of mortar and rubble. The thin bricks, burnt hard, render possible the solid structure of ribs and vaultings ; a richer appearance was given to the mortar-work of the crude-brick buildings by the use of yellow and red bricks.

Ornament. The Romans continue to make use of the abundant stores of Greek ornamentation. Nevertheless, both in architecture and in mechanical art we find happy new creations, in which truthful observation of nature is combined with delicacy in the ornamental management of lines. Plant scrolls, laurel branches, and the like undergo a fine decorative reproduction, and living creatures are woven into the ornament (Fig. 48).

Buildings. The *temple* stands on a high pedestal (*podium*), which in oldest times was fairly square, and has a deep portico. Columns often run round only on three sides, while the back-wall of the cella is prolonged and forms a terminating wall of the entire structure. Isolated instances occur of round temples with circular cellae. Instead of a real colonnade sometimes only half-columns appear on the side-walls of the cella. From Imperial times the coffered barrel-vault makes its appearance by the side of the flat wooden ceiling.

The Roman *theatre* is in close dependence upon the Greek model, as indeed every amphitheatre down to the present day ultimately traces back its origin to the theatre of Dionysus on the slope of the Athenian Acropolis. But as a rule—a particularly well-preserved building is still standing at Orange (Arausio) in the South of France—it is a detached structure above ground, the stories of which are decorated with arcades. The Southern climate in most cases permits of dispensing with a fixed roof, so that greater

dimensions were possible than in the modern theatre, which indeed cannot employ carrying supports for the ceiling. A theatre with room for 7000 spectators was not reckoned among the largest, which held up to 50,000. When the sun was very hot an awning was spread over the auditorium (*cavea*). The semicircular orchestra extended between the stage (*proscenium*) with an architectonically decorated back-wall (*scenae frons*) and the ascending concentric rows of seats for the spectators. As it is no longer needed, as it was in Greek times, for the chorus, which was wanting in the Roman drama, it takes in seats for distinguished spectators and is thus the forerunner of the modern stalls. The excellent acoustic properties of the ancient theatre are astonishing ; every word is audible to the last row of seats.

The shows in the *amphitheatre* (see Fig. 36), where contests of wild beasts and gladiators were witnessed with passionate Southern enthusiasm, were widely popular. Round the elliptically shaped *arena* the tiers of seats rise on all sides, underpinned by mighty substructures with approach corridors and terminated outward by a three-storied façade. Even at the present day the Southerners use the arena at Arles (Arelate) in the old fashion for bullfights, while among ourselves the amphitheatre survives in the circus.

The Roman *circus*, like the Greek hippodrome, was an elongated racecourse with ascending rows of seats for the spectators. A *spina* (backbone) divided the arena into two parts longitudinally ; the teams of horses started from the barriers (*carceres*), rushed along the course, and at the ends of the spina (*metae*) were obliged to make a sharp curve.

The *basilica* (στοὰ βασίλειος, ? King's hall), an invention of the Hellenistic period, is as a rule an oblong rectangular building, in which a very high central nave is separated from a corridor running round it by columnar arrangements. A tribunal (raised platform) for judicial proceedings is often erected at the terminating narrow wall. As commercial dealings and the administration of justice are carried on in the basilica, it is situated in the neighbourhood of public places where there is much traffic, especially near the forum. The basilica has given its name and pattern to the old Christian churches in the West.

The great *thermae* (baths *de luxe*) were used not only for air- and water-baths, but also for conversation, for listening to recitations and songs, and for gymnastic exercises (p. 243). The undressing room (*apodyterium*), cold bath (*frigidarium*), tepid bath (*tepidarium*), hot bath (*caldarium*), vapour bath (*sudatorium*), swimming-bath, and palaestra were gorgeously got up, overarched by domes and combined to form a vast joint-structure with new and splendid spatial effect. Baths, like private houses, were warmed by central heating (*hypocaustum*, heating from below). In the space beneath the floor large fires were kept up, and the hot air passed under the floor and ascended by hollow tiles into the walls of the room. This method of heating lasted very well and warmed the floor agreeably, whereas modern stoves chiefly heat to excess the unused space above near the ceiling.

The *triumphal arches* (*arcus*, p. 223) were not erected for victorious armies to pass through, but served as a thoroughfare for traffic. From early Imperial times at least they were adorned with columns and reliefs, terminated by an *attica* (a low story above the entablature), which generally bore the dedicatory inscription and carried a statue or group to crown the whole. Two smaller side-passages are often found together with the main central thoroughfare. *Graves* were more frequently of monumental design than in Greek times. The builders fell back on the form of the pyramid, constructed cylindrical round buildings on a square block (see Fig. 124), and built *columbaria* (dovecots) for the poorer classes, in which the walls are honeycombed with a number of little niches to receive the cinerary urns, as in the modern crematoria.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

Buildings in Rome. Some arrangements for the supply of well-water go back to very ancient times, such as the well-house on the Capitol, the *Tullianum*, over which the prison (Carcer Mamertinus) was erected later, and another, still well preserved, at Tusculum. In both, as in the Mycenaean beehive graves and in Etruscan buildings on Italian soil, a false vault is the result, due to the fact that the horizontal rows of stones project more and more upward instead of being cut wedge-shaped ; later, the upper part of this false arch was removed and the prison erected over it. Of the oldest form of the great temple on the Capitol (completed 509 B.C.) only parts of the substructure are still preserved. The temple was sacred to the Capitoline trinity—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—and had three parallel cellae and a portico formed by three rows of columns, from which the signs in the sky, so important in the Italian cult, were observed.

In later Republican times the adaptation to Greek forms is complete. It can be traced particularly well in Pompeii, which was built after a Hellenistic model (p. 224).

Augustus, in his account of his life, boasts of having taken over Rome as a city of bricks and left it of marble. His tenacious energy carried out many plans devised by the genius of Caesar, and worked out many others afresh.[1] Like the poets (p. 90) the architects also had to help to reconcile the people to his autocracy. After the Emperor's happy return from Gaul and Spain the Senate vowed to the Imperial goddess of peace an altar (Ara Pacis Augustae; see Figs. 87 and 113), and in 9 B.C. dedicated the splendid monument, which worthily celebrates the restoration of peace to the world.

The altar proper is enclosed almost squarely by a wall of marble (measuring 35 feet by 38), which was adorned on the outer surface on the lower zone with scrolls, on the upper with a sculptured frieze. Wide doors opened on the front and back.

On the Palatine the father of Tiberius built a splendid house for Livia, of which four charmingly painted rooms still exist. The *tomb of Caecilia Metella*, daughter-in-law of the triumvir Crassus, represented the type of Augustus' own sepulchral monument. A massive cylinder, a continuation in stone of the old tumuli, stands upon a square base ; the effect produced by the whole, in the open country on the Via Appia, is still great and self-complete. The crown of battlements is an addition of the Middle Ages, when the imposing structure was used as a fortress. In the Mausoleum of Augustus a tumulus planted with cypresses and crowned by a colossal statue of the Emperor is heaped up on the much more impressive stone cylinder. From this to the monumental sepulchral buildings faced with marble, as at the castle of St Angelo (p. 169), is only a step. The fondness for Egyptian forms, which began

[1] For his buildings in the Roman Forum and in the Forum Augusti see the section "Topography."

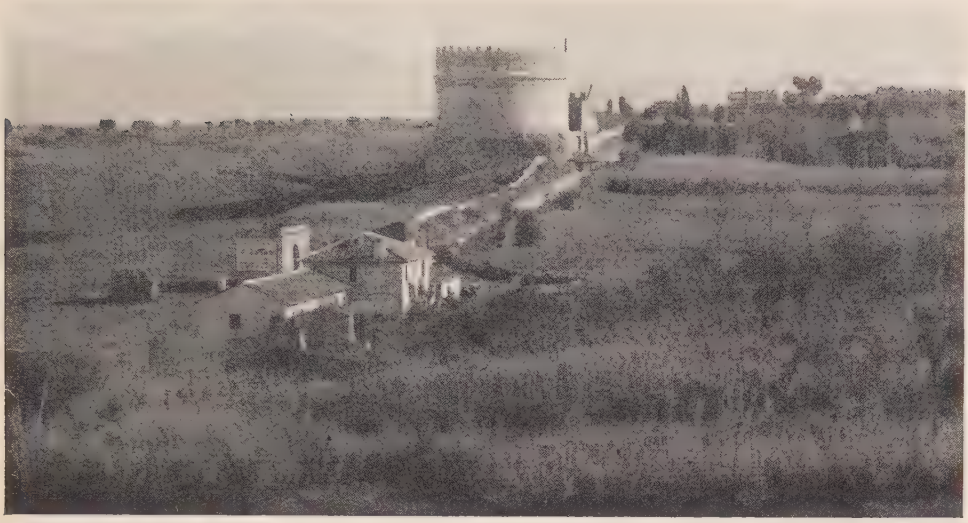


FIG. 49. TOMB OF CAECILIA METELLA IN THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA
On the left are the Alban Mountains, with Monte Cavo (Mons Albanus).
From a photograph.

under Augustus, led to a sepulchral monument being erected for the praetor Gaius Cestius (*d.* 12 B.C.) in the form of a pyramid about 120 feet high.

The nine-days fire which in 64 destroyed all the older parts of the city in Rome except the Forum and Capitol gave Nero the opportunity of ordering for himself the construction of a widely ramified palace, surrounded by gardens, the Golden House (*domus aurea*). The remains of the wall and ceiling decoration have been frequently utilized for ornamental compositions by the artists of the Renaissance ; their grotesques, combinations of the human form and scrolls, go back to Roman models.

Vespasian and Titus erected the mighty *amphitheatre*, calculated to hold 40,000 to 50,000 spectators, which was later named the *Colosseum* (see Fig. 36) from the colossal statue of Nero that stood in the neighbourhood of his Golden House.

The building, erected in the form of an ellipse, is the largest ancient ruin that has come down to us. The main building rises in four stories : the three lowest are broken up into arcades with half-columns ; the highest is adorned with Corinthian pilasters, an arrangement which had an influence on Renaissance buildings. The style of the half-columns on the lowest story is Doric, on the second Ionic, on the third Corinthian. Thus the massive building is relieved of its too heavy effect. The arena exhibits numerous substructures, which permitted a speedy raising and lowering of cages. Eighty radial approach corridors and a widely ramified system of staircases make it possible to enter and leave the amphitheatre without delay.

The conquest of Jerusalem by Titus gave Domitian the opportunity of erecting a triumphal arch. This Arch of Titus is the oldest triumphal arch

FIG. 50. INTERIOR OF THE PANTHEON, ROME
From a photograph.

in Rome still standing. On both sides of the single archway the wall is adorned by two pairs of half-columns with composite capitals set upon lofty bases. The chief ornament is the reliefs in the soffit of the archway let in underneath the coffered barrel-vault (see Fig. 22). The quadriga with the statue of the Emperor which surmounted the attica story is lost.

Trajan immortalized the memory of his victories over the Dacians in another way by the erection of an honorary column, the *Column of Trajan* (see Fig. 132). Round the column winds a spiral band of reliefs about 650 feet long, which, like a continuous narrative, describes scene for scene the battles on the Danube, especially those in the modern Rumania. In the interior of the shaft a flight of steps led up to the statue of the Emperor, who was later obliged to give place to St Peter. The base, ornamented with reliefs of weapons, formerly covered the ashes of Trajan. The entire column was only a part of the Forum of Trajan, a work of genius, designed by the architect Apollodorus of Damascus, which far surpassed the earlier Imperial fora in the magnificent scale on which it was planned and the wealth of plastic ornament (p. 222).

By the wonderful structure of the *Pantheon* Hadrian enriched the capital by a work that has been the admiration of all times. Thanks to its technical boldness as well as the beauty of its proportions it moves the spectator more than any other Roman architectural work. It was the first time in the history

of architecture that so great a space (150 feet in the clear) was arched over with a dome, which, especially owing to its unique effect in the interior of the sanctuary, enraptured the Renaissance architects, and has happily remained intact to our own days.

The Pantheon was not a sanctuary of all the gods, but a circular temple erected to glorify the Julian family and for the worship of several divinities. It had been founded as early as 27 B.C. by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, but the present building, as is proved by the brick stamp, is entirely of the time of Hadrian. A hemispherical dome, in the summit of which an opening has been cut, so that the blue sky looks in and sheds a gentle, uniform light through the room, is placed upon a cylinder. The height of the building is the same as its diameter (150 feet). The wall is divided by ring-cornices into two stories; the dome is ornamented by perspectively constructed coffers. Later, probably in the time of Antoninus Pius, a portico with eight columns in the front was annexed to the rotunda, with the old inscription recording Agrippa as builder on the epistyle and a strong pediment. In the seventh century the pagan temple became the Christian church of S. Maria ad Martyres, which as in ancient times serves for the worship of God and preserving the memory of great men and rulers; Raphael and Italy's kings rest therein.

As a great Imperial sepulchre for himself and his descendants and successors Hadrian built a *mausoleum* (Moles Hadriani), the core of which is preserved to us in the castle of St Angelo on the Pons Aelius, the modern Ponte Sant' Angelo (see Fig. 124). The type of the Mausoleum of Augustus, the circular building standing upon a square podium, underwent at the same time a splendid development through a profuse decoration with columns and sculptures; in ancient times a small circular temple probably surmounted the whole. In the core the Hadrianic buildings were made of bricks and a cement of mortar and rubble mixed.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius, as well as the honorary arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine, shows close connexion with the work of early Imperial times. The last-named arch celebrates the victory of the friend of the Christians over Maxentius in 312; it represents in its finely adjusted proportions and the decoratively effective sculptures let into it the fully matured, last link in a long chain of development. Mighty remains still give us an idea of the vast halls, terminated by cross and domed vaults, of the *Thermae of Caracalla* (p. 165), erected 211–216. The main building stood in a court or garden, framed in a pillared hall. Marble of many colours, collected from all parts of the Roman world-empire, painted stucco, and sculptures gave the interior brightness and colouring. An equally powerful effect is produced upon the spectator by the remains of the *basilica* erected in the Forum by *Maxentius and Constantine* (see Figs. 51 and 99). The central elevated nave of the tripartite structure, in spite of its span of 76 feet, was roofed over with three cross-vaults. The customary form of the basilica was here replaced by a mighty vaulted structure, a bold innovation; from the floor one looked 115 feet up to the cross-vaults; it is certain that buildings of so magnificent an arrangement of space assisted the productivity of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Renaissance (St Peter's).

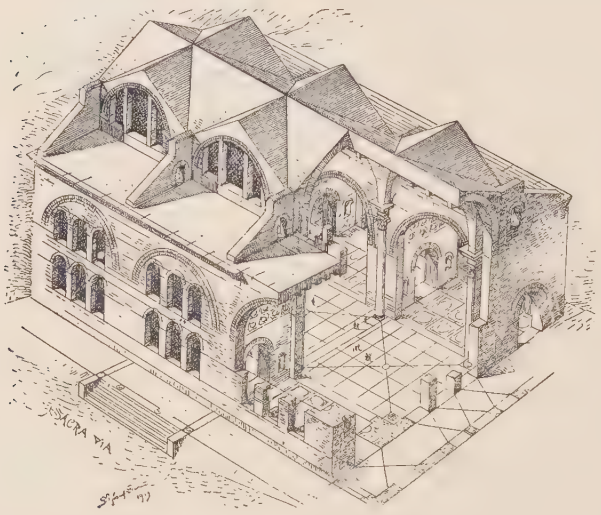


FIG. 51. STRUCTURE OF THE BASILICA OF MAXENTIUS AND CONSTANTINE IN ROME

Completed by Constantine the Great after the death of Maxentius (312). The lofty cross-vault appears to rest upon eight monolith columns. Stately remains are still standing on the Via Sacra (*cf.* the ecclesiastical architecture of the Renaissance, St Peter's).

From Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer* (second edition), p. 621.

[See also Fig. 99.]

BUILDINGS IN THE PROVINCES. The building activity of the Roman Emperors spread over the entire world of that time. Many of the monumental buildings erected are not inferior to the Roman either in delicacy of construction or in excellence of material, as is attested by those that are still preserved. In *Italy* the arches at Ancona and Beneventum belong to the time of Trajan. In *Istria* Pola, Spalato, and Salona were the chief seats of Roman building activity; the extensive palace of Diocletian at Spalato, within which the entire modern town is comprised, is divided by two intersecting streets into four open spaces encircled by columns. In the *territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy* in the first and second centuries A.D. there were several Roman provinces with important military and civil settlements, such as Juvavum (Salzburg), Virunum (Zollfeld, near Klagenfurt) in Noricum, Vindobona (Vienna), Carnuntum (Petronell, near Pressburg), rich in finds, Aquincum (Alt-Ofen), and Emona (Laibach) in Pannonia. At the Iron Gate Trajan spanned the Danube by a mighty bridge with twenty stone piers. *Athens*, the chief city of Greece, is indebted to Hadrian for the completion of the great temple of Zeus, the Olympieion (p. 162), as well as for the erection of an entirely new quarter of the city on the Ilissus, the approach to which, "Hadrian's Gate," is still preserved. The Trajaneum built by Hadrian on the acropolis at Pergamon, the library and theatre at Ephesus, and the covered markets of Miletus bear witness to Roman architecture in *Asia Minor*. In *Syria* the temple of Bel at Palmyra and the temple of Jupiter at Heliopolis (Baalbec) date from the second and the beginning of the third century A.D. The colossal temple of Jupiter at Heliopolis had ten columns in front, and in its beginnings goes back to the Augustan age. The French have discovered an entire Roman city after the style of Pompeii at *Timgad* in Africa. In the south of *Gaul* building flourished during the Augustan age. The "Maison Carrée" at Nîmes (Nemausus), a podium-temple with Corinthian half-columns on the walls of the cella, was dedicated to the Imperial cult; Agrippa spanned

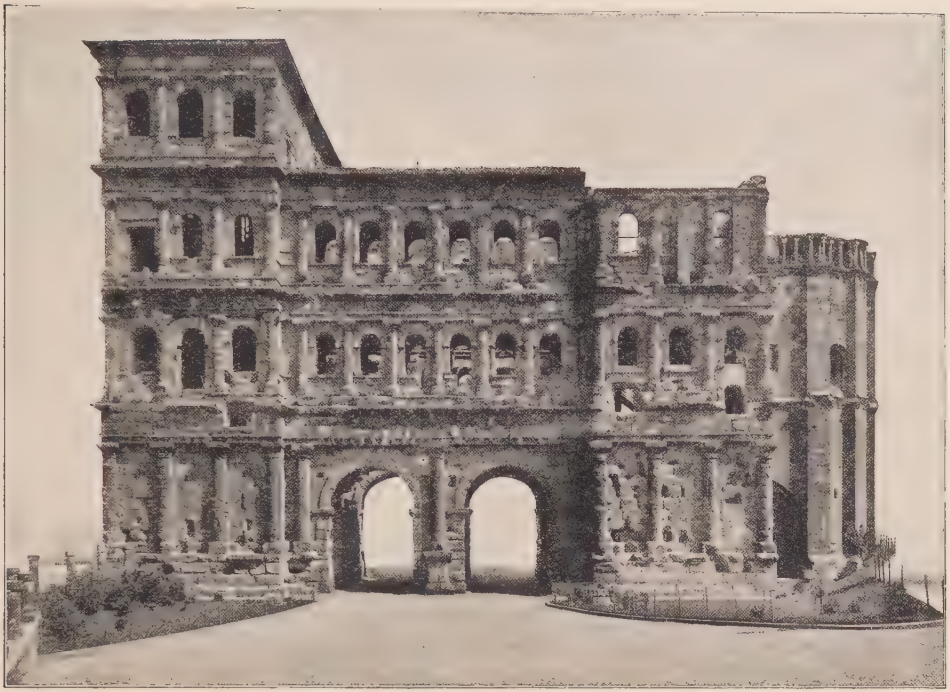


FIG. 52. THE PORTA NIGRA AT TRÈVES, INNER SIDE

The city is still at the present day entered by the gate, which encloses an inner court. Built about A.D. 260. The smooth additional wing on the right dates from the Middle Ages.

From a photograph of the Prussian Institute of Photogrammetry.

the Gard (Vardo) with an aqueduct consisting of three tiers of arches, the so-called Pont du Gard (see Fig. 130). Such conduits always brought the fresh water at a high level on arcades a kilometre (five-eighths of a mile) long, and provided the cities of the South far better with water than is the case at the present day. In later Imperial times the Emperors, especially Constantius and Constantine, frequently resided in Trèves (Trier, Colonia Augusta Treverorum) in Gallia Belgica. The well-preserved north city-gate, the Porta Nigra (Fig. 52), built about A.D. 260, creates an especially powerful effect by its flanking side-towers and the want of a finishing touch. Modern investigation has recognized as thermae the mighty ruins which were supposed to be the remains of the Imperial palace. The entire Moselle district shows us architectonic sepulchres such as the Igel column and tombs from Neumagen, the ornamental relief-work of which is far more lifelike in execution than other works of Roman provincial art (*cf.* Fig. 23). In *Germany* the predominant feature is the uninteresting soldiers' tombstones (*cf.* Fig. 128) and reliefs dedicated to the cult of the soldiers' gods, especially the bull-slaying Persian sun-god Mithras (see Fig. 29), the mightiest rival of advancing Christianity. The buildings at Cologne (Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis), at Mainz

(Mogontiacum), at Strassburg (Argentoratum), and at Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) with few exceptions now lie buried under the modern city. Of the castle at Ratisbon (Castra Regina) the imposing Porta Praetoria is still standing. At Kempten in Bavaria the Roman provincial city of Cambodunum with its forum and stately thermae is being gradually investigated. To secure the frontier against the free Germans and to regulate the customs duties and intercourse between barbarians and Romans Domitian and Hadrian made a line of barriers and defences between the Danube and the Rhine. This Germano-Raetian *Limes* begins at Hienheim, near Kehlheim on the Danube, and runs in a westerly direction as far as Lorch in Württemberg as a turreted wall. From here it turns sharply to the north as a rampart and trench; in the Taunus it turns more again to the west and reaches the Rhine at Andernach. At regular intervals the rampart is further protected by watchtowers and large and smaller forts, which were all excavated and investigated by the Imperial Frontier Commission during many years' work. One can still follow up for days the remains and traces of the *Limes*, called by the people *Teufelsmauer* (devils' wall). In the case of many of the forts inscriptions that have been found acquaint us with the names of the garrisons which were posted there; we know from various finds how soldiers and horses were quartered and stabled, how the commander lived, what the shrine in which the standards were kept looked like, even the names of the gods to whom the Romans prayed, which proves, even more clearly than literary tradition, that at that time Mithras was the idol of the soldiers. The Saalburg (see Fig. 129) situated on the solitary crest of the Taunus suffered less damage than later resettlements; the fort was built up again at great expense, and vividly represents a piece of the oldest history of Germany.

(*D*) GREEK SCULPTURE

Greek sculpture is a phenomenon unique of its kind. It arouses our special interest as the foundation of the development of art in later times by the steadiness of its progress from ancient beginnings to the free mastery of form and by the perfections of its creations; no later period of art has produced on its own so much that is new. At the very beginning of Greek art a great fact stands out: the endeavour to form the naked human being detached and freed from the supporting pillar against which the Egyptians propped up their stone figures. No doubt the effect of the statues of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is still that of stiffness and awkwardness, but an incessant study of nature teaches how to fashion individual forms with ever-increasing correctness and to enliven the expression of the face. The desire of the pupil is to do the same as the master, only better and more correctly. Thus, carried along by a fortunate tradition, all forces strive to reach the one great object of all Greek art—the more and more perfect representation of the human body,

naked or clothed, at rest or in motion. The Greeks bestow human features upon all that is great, gods as well as goddesses, even sleep and death, spring and river. What a difference between the grotesque hawk's head of the Egyptian sun-god Horus and the features of Athene animated by an inner majesty! It is true that in Greek plastic art we find good and inferior work side by side, but we never, as is so often the case in later times, meet with works which repel us by spasmodic caprice or by spiritless imitation of nature. Among the Greeks a large number of factors were united, at one place and at one time, which were favourable to the development of the plastic art: a race highly gifted and susceptible to all the phenomena of sense; the tempering of the body in the gymnasia for the great national games, which over and over again permitted the study of the structure and movement of the naked body; the custom of decorating temples, open spaces, and graves with statues; the nature of the costume, falling in graceful folds without cramping or concealing the bodily form. In addition to this, that inborn and trained aesthetic sense which caused the Greeks to avoid the desultory and capricious tendency in development from which modern art suffers is a most important feature.

The oldest attested images of the gods are the carved figures of wood (*ξόανα*), whose unsightly appearance was improved by painting and gilding. But soon a material was found in the white marble of the islands of Naxos and (later) Paros, which was certainly harder to work, but facilitated the acquisition of a smooth upper surface and accurate forms of the body, and rewarded the labour of the work by greater durability. Bronze, which was most frequently used for statues from the fifth century, was considered an even superior material to the shining marble. As prominent parts of the dress and body in stone need a support, which often mars the general impression of the figure, the durable bronze-casting was preferred. The details were finely elaborated by chasing, and by tinting the hair in gold and inserting the eyes in coloured material a lifelike effect was produced. Marble figures also underwent profuse painting, especially in the costume patterns. In the case of temple statues the visible parts of the flesh were laid over the wooden core in ivory, the vesture in gold, a costly proceeding; the gold expended on the *Athene Parthenos* of Pheidias alone represented the sum of forty-four talents (about £11,000). Unfortunately, it is just these famous individual works of the great masters of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. that are seldom preserved in the original, but mostly in copies dating from the Roman period. Distinguished Romans had a passion for having copies made of statues of the classical period, which they had admired during their journeys in Greece, to ornament their houses and gardens. The result was that the originals were often reduced, coarsened, sometimes also horribly disfigured by additions. Such second-hand reproductions were in the eighteenth century often more highly appreciated than Greek originals; the admiration for works like the Capitoline *Venus* and the *Apollo Belvedere* goes back to this period. The tectonic sculptures used in adorning the temples and grave and votive reliefs offered to the gods are almost without exception preserved in the original. It was not until the nineteenth century that they opened men's eyes to the character of Greek art.

The Archaic Period. This period, literally the period of the beginning (*ἀρχή*) of Greek art, in which the structure of the body and the form of its individual members were still imperfectly reproduced, may be divided into a very ancient epoch from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. to the middle

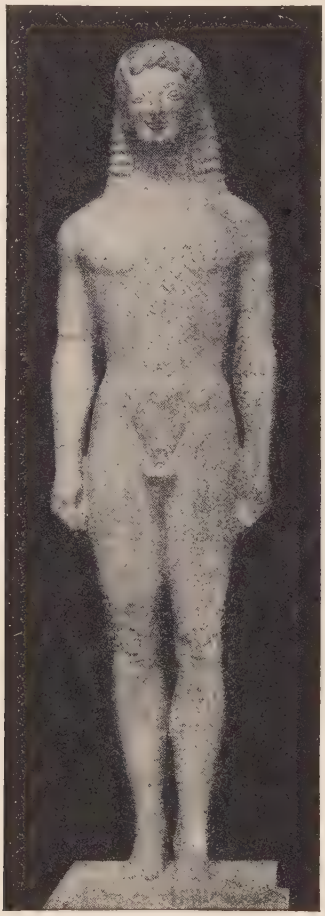


FIG. 53. APOLLO OF TENEA
Corinth. Marble.
Munich. From a photograph.

FIG. 54. STATUE OF A GIRL FROM THE 'PERSIAN RUBBISH' OF THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS
Marble. The outstretched left hand no doubt held fruit as an offering to Athene.
From a photograph.

of the sixth century B.C. and a mature archaic period from about 550 to 480 B.C. Nearly everything which lay hidden beneath the 'Persian rubbish' (p. 216) heaped up when the Athenian Acropolis was destroyed may be considered to belong to the ancient period.

At the end of the second millennium B.C. great movements of peoples from place to place, collectively spoken of as the Dorian migration, prepared the way for the end of the Creto-Mycenaean culture. In art the *geometrical style*, which reproduces men and animals only in miniature in schematic forms, made its appearance (see Fig. 122). The first large sculptures in the round which we possess date from the seventh century B.C.; the stimulus to their

formation reached the Greeks of the mainland from Egypt and the islands, especially Crete. In the seventh century B.C. the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis are said to have emigrated to Peloponnesus and to have executed statues for several places; the so-called *Apollo of Tenea* (Fig. 53) gives us an idea of their style.

FIG. 55. PERSEUS SLAYING THE MEDUSA: METOPE OF THE TEMPLE CALLED C AT SELINUS

The figures rise almost like statues from the ground, but the modelling is throughout unsatisfactory. Front- and side-view alternate in the same figure, as in Egyptian art.

Palermo. From a photograph.

This statue, carved from Parian marble, is closely dependent upon Egyptian models. The rigid attitude, the advancing of the left foot, the arms and hands hanging down with the thumbs turned toward the front remind us of Egyptian formations. On the other hand, the complete nudity, the strained tension of the body, the absence of a supporting pillar, and the admirably shaped knees reveal a Greek spirit. The attempt to animate the expression leads to the stiff 'archaic smile' (almost a smirk); the entirely frontal position, which in strictly symmetrical composition avoids every inclination of the limbs toward the right or left, the bulging eyes, not narrowed by the approach of the upper lid to the lower, as well as the depression of the navel, are characteristic of ancient times. Although the left foot is somewhat in advance, the youth is standing with the entire sole of each foot placed firmly on the ground. Ancient Greek art represented Apollo in just the same manner; but our figure is the sepulchral statue of a youth, found in a cemetery at Tenea near Corinth. It most probably dates from about 600 B.C.

In ancient times sculptors had a fancy for carving statues from soft poros-stone (calcareous tufa), to which they gave greater effect and durability by painting them over in lively colours; this is attested by numerous remains of the groups on the pediments of the pre-Persian temples on the Acropolis. At the same time Samian artists made full use of the Egyptian invention of casting in bronze for the production of large statues. The oldest female figures of marble such as the *Artemis* from Delos and the *Hera* from Samos, dedicated by Nicandra and Cheramyes respectively, produce an effect of stiffness and absence of articulation, and remind us of the wood-carved statues (p. 173). Even the later archaic statue of a girl (*κόρη*) from the Persian

FIG. 56. RUNNER FROM THE BASE OF A STATUE IN ATHENS

The whole relief shows youths engaged in a ball-game, combined with running and catching the ball.

rubbish-heap (Fig. 54) still fails to give the natural folds in the dress, but captivates us by the charmingly fresh expression of the face. Dress patterns touched up in variegated colours enlivened the flat surfaces. Other statues of girls by Ionic and Attic artists dedicated to Athene already show deep folds worked into the dress, and the girls daintily lift a corner of the skirt to their side with the left hand.

The sixth-century metope from Selinus in Sicily (Fig. 55) shows the archaic provincial style of relief.

In the presence of Athene Perseus is cutting off the grotesquely distorted head of the Gorgon (Medusa), whose look turns every beholder to stone; from the blood of the hideous monster springs the winged courser Pegasus. The figures have staring, goggle eyes; while the head and breast of Perseus are represented full-face we see the legs directly in profile; the muscles appear exaggerated, the entire figures are thickset and stocky. The archaic sculptors in relief, especially on longer friezes, strive to make all the heads of the same height (isocephaly), so that standing figures appear very small contrasted with others sitting or even lying down.

The sepulchral stele (an upright stone slab) in flat relief, once effectively painted in various colours, the work of the sculptor Aristocles (see Fig. 125), dates from the last decades of the sixth century. The hair, neatly arranged in archaic fashion, is seen beneath the helmet, which has no plume, and the tense muscular system near the greaves is clearly shown. Some bases of statues, which perhaps formerly supported the forms of youths who died prematurely, belong to the end of the sixth century. The reliefs on the socles represent the doings of the young people: one side shows in the centre two youths, striving to get possession of a ball with a crooked, hook-shaped stick, just as in a game of modern hockey; the attitude of the partners looking on is lively and unconstrained (see Fig. 31). On another base we see youths engaged in a game of ball combined with running (Fig. 56); the work is even fresher and more plastic than on the companion relief; the runner's attitude shows the characteristic movements of hurrying forward, taking breath, and the attitude of the arms.

FIG. 57. FALLEN WARRIOR FROM THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE AT AEGINA
The Parian marble is also carefully worked on the back side. The sharply cut forms, especially that of the beard, remind us of the fact that the Aeginetan artists chiefly worked in bronze.
From a photograph.

At the end of the archaic period such splendid creations as the pediment groups of the temple of Aphaea at Aegina are already to be seen. They represent Aeginetan heroes fighting before Troy in a composition which is happily suited to the slope of the pediment, and exhibits similar groups on both sides in free correspondence, whereas the pediment fields were formerly filled with rings of snakes or figures graduated like organ-pipes. The pediments, as the more recent excavations conducted by Adolf Furtwängler have proved, were richer in figures than the present exhibition in the Munich Glyptothek. The dying Aeginetan of the east pediment (Fig. 57) is touchingly expressive ; the tension of the muscles of the leg, the swelling of the breast, and the turning movement of the sides are full of vigour and liveliness.

The splendid enthroned goddess (Fig. 1) now in the Berlin Museum belongs to the same period as the east pediment of Aegina. Mild and solemn, she is seated upon a throne, her feet supported on a charmingly shaped footstool ; as the hands, which once held her characteristic attributes, are missing, her name cannot be settled with certainty. She probably comes from an old Greek colony in Lower Italy. As the only antique cult-image preserved in the original the statue is of the greatest value.

The reliefs shown in Fig. 58, which no doubt once adorned an altar, exhibit the full charm of younger archaic productions.

The top figure shows the birth of Aphrodite from the foam of the sea. As in the Homeric hymn, the Hours, standing on the shingled beach, gently receive the goddess. On the left, underneath, is a courtesan, blowing the double flute ; on the right a modestly clothed maiden, scattering grains of incense. How much archaic clumsiness still appears in the treatment of individual forms, and yet how charming is the impression created by the whole, how full of life are the figures ! The breast of the goddess sits wrongly ; the courtesan's thigh does not grow organically from the body ; but what does this matter in comparison with the charm of the plastic form, the glorious youthful body of the courtesan ; with the fine characterization of the wet, clinging dress of the goddess, her

FIG. 58. CROWNING OF AN ALTAR

Marble. The counterpart of these reliefs of the Villa Ludovisi at Boston shows that the corners of the slabs were decorated with beautifully arched volutes.

Rome, Museo delle Terme.

swimming eyes; with the sacrificing maiden with the charming contrast of her tightly fitting dress; with the well-balanced, strictly symmetrical composition? This internally animated work with decided external errors is a thousand times more valuable than thousands of artistically flawless works which have no internal vigour. The splendid counterpart of the reliefs is in the Boston Museum.

THE SEVERE STYLE (ABOUT 480–450 B.C.). The artists of the severe style improve the proportions of the antique figures by freeing them from the stiff rule of frontality by the transference of the weight of the body to *one* leg, the

leg which supports the body, while the other, the free leg which has full play, relieved of its burden, is placed at the side; the individual forms observed in the natural model are delineated severely and rigidly, but are only rarely anatomically incorrect; the 'archaic smile' becomes a serious expression, the pointed chin an accurate profile, the eye, often in earlier times represented looking straight in front, is moved into its proper position.

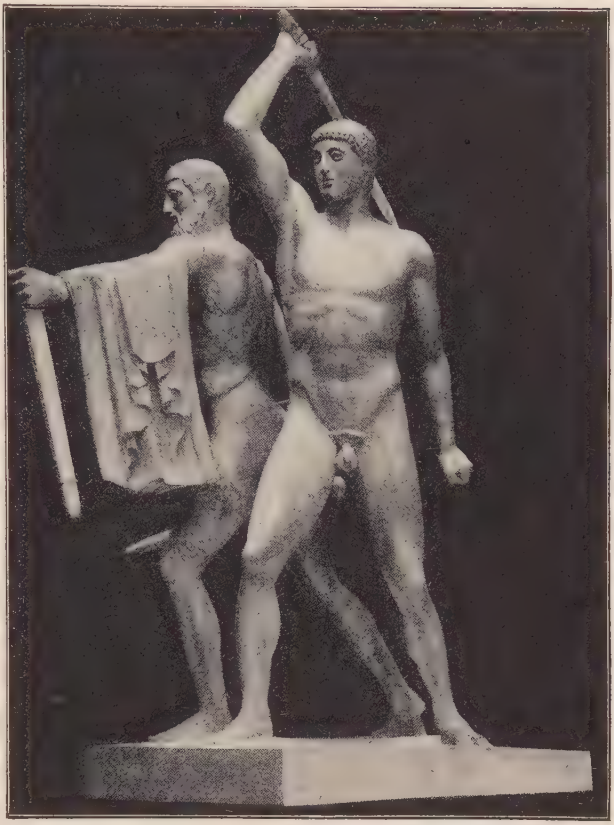


FIG. 59. THE TYRANNICIDES HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGEITON

The first example of a political memorial and the first group which unites two highly restless figures in a plastic unity. Harmodius is raising his arm to strike with the sword; the bearded Aristogeiton is pushing forward to thrust.

Naples. After the restoration by Michaelis at Strassburg.

Statues executed in bronze by the Athenian Antenor were set up by a grateful people to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the murderers of the tyrant Hipparchus. Since this group was carried off by Xerxes another was erected, the *Tyrannicides*, in 477 (Fig. 59); it was the work of Critius and Nesiotes, representing them rushing forward, and is preserved in a good imitation. Two creations of **Myron**, the greatest master of the severe style, have been successfully established by excellent copies. The *Discobolos* (Fig. 60) surprises us by its boldness of invention. The thrower has just turned away from the mark, and fetches himself up with the discus for a mighty swing, intending the next moment to turn back about 180 degrees in order to hurl the discus toward the mark. In spite of the wide sweeping movement the effect of the statue is not a lack of repose; it is complete in itself, like a full relief. The group of *Athene and Marsyas* also maintains an action in movement in one picture. The shaggy Silenus, with tense sinews, recoils before Athene, represented in the simple peplos, who admonishes him to pick up the flute thrown away by her. Both figures are preserved in copies. The statue of Athene forms the most precious treasure of the Liebighaus at Frankfort-

FIG. 60. DISCOBOLOS (MYRON)

The statue is only preserved in copies, among which a torso from Castel Porziano is the best. There is an antique copy in the Vatican at Rome.

Reconstruction in the Museo Nazionale, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

on-the-Main (Fig. 61). The austere maidenliness of the goddess, her majestic air, the fine oval of the head, and the naturally fresh attitude never fail to attract the spectator.

An excellent original of this period from the hand of an unknown master was found by the French during their excavations at Delphi. It is the bronze statue of a charioteer, conjecturally prompted by Polyzalus, the ruler of Gela, probably in 474, out of gratitude for a victory in the chariot-race. The whole attitude of the body (see Fig. 32) expresses strained attention, and while the head (Fig. 62) still shows the austerity of the severe style in mouth and chin, the lively look of the eyes and the hair falling loose beneath the headband reveal the freshness of a master-hand. The chief memorial of the severe style is furnished by the plastic decoration of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (*c.* 470–456 B.C.), which was recovered during the German excavations of 1876–1881. The east pediment shows the preparations for the race between King Oenomaus and the stranger Pelops, who desires to win the hand of the King's daughter Hippodameia. In the west pediment centaurs are endeavouring to carry off the women assembled at the wedding of Peirithous. On a well-preserved metope we see Atlas offering the apples of the Hesperides to Heracles (see Fig. 109); Athene, represented simply and in maidenly form, is assisting the hero to support the unusual burden of the vault of heaven. The charming stele of an Attic victor from Sunion (see Fig. 33) appears somewhat older. The boy just ripening into

youth is placing on his hair with thumb and forefinger a crown, no doubt made of precious metal and fastened with pins through the holes. The roughened ground of the relief shows traces of light blue colouring; the austere but at the same time tender character of the youthful victor is well maintained in this work of natural freshness.

PHEIDIAS, POLYCLEITUS, AND THEIR PUPILS (450–400 B.C.). The art of the second half of the fifth century B.C. appeared to old writers to be the climax of Greek plastic art. All technical difficulties are overcome, the mastery of the forms of the body is complete, and the artists concentrate all their power upon the ideal expression of their creations. Pheidias is more successful than anyone else in forcing the ideal elements of Zeus and Athene into the material. Polycleitus establishes the standard proportions of the youthful figure; in his male forms the severe Dorian sense of form asserts itself, while the Athenian Pheidias is most effective in the rich animation of his female forms. The building up of the figures aspires to monumental effects; in the representation the accidental features of the individual appearance are eliminated, while that which is typical, universally recognized, is elaborated. Unfortunately, owing to the unkindness of time so few accredited works of Pheidias have been preserved that it is difficult to recognize his personal style, while in the case of Polycleitus at any rate there is an abundant store of copies to enlighten us as to the peculiarity of his creations.

FIG. 61. ATHENE OF MYRON

Copy from the bronze original. While departing, the goddess rapidly turns her head and the upper part of her body to the satyr slinking toward her.

Frankfort-on-the-Main, Liebighaus.

Pheidias stood at the head of the Attic school. He occupied a prominent position in the artistic, as Pericles in the political, life of that time, and was regarded by his contemporaries and many later authorities as the greatest of all Greek sculptors.

Life. In 477 B.C., when Pericles entrusted him with the decoration of the Parthenon, Pheidias was already a famous master. Those who envied him, probably also with the desire of injuring Pericles, accused him of embezzling some valuable ivory intended for

FIG. 62. HEAD OF THE DELPHIAN CHARIOTEER

Bronze. The whole form, clad in a long chiton, falling in vertical folds, stood on the racing-chariot. The fine features, with the keenly observant look, entirely attracted the attention of the spectator.

Delphi. From a photograph.

[See p. 180 and Fig. 32.]

the statue of *Athene Parthenos*. Thrown into prison, according to the most credible tradition, he saved himself by flight from the suit which was closely connected with political aims. At Olympia he was commissioned to execute the cult-image for the great temple of Zeus. Here he and his descendants lived, highly esteemed and honoured.

Works. His statues of the gods, which were his greatest glory, are only known to us from copies. On the Acropolis there stood three statues of Athene by him. The great bronze Athene, later named *Promachos*, made from the spoils of Plataea, towered so high between the Propylaea and the Erechtheion, that the point of her spear and the crest of her helmet flashed into the eyes of sailors half-way from Sunion to Athens. A second bronze Athene, the *Lemnian*, probably dedicated in 447 by Attic colonists in Lemnos, was famous for the striking beauty of the head denuded of the helmet (Fig. 63). This alone among his images of the gods has been authenticated in good marble copies after the bronze original; in this extremely lively statue Pheidias best reproduces his personal conception of the sublime divinity of the city. The gold and ivory statue of *Athene Parthenos*, set up in the Parthenon in 438 B.C., is only known to us from small marble copies; merely the head is preserved in the better imitations, an especially beautiful one being on a gem by Aspasius in the Augustan age.

The marble statuette (little more than 3 feet high) dug up near the Varvakio gymnasium at Athens (Fig. 64) most clearly reproduces the plan of the forty-feet-high statue, but hardly gives an idea of the solemn effect of the cult-image. The composition is admirably adapted to the architecture of the interior of the temple and succeeds in producing a monumental effect. Athene stands before us, solemnly erect, the left foot placed only lightly at the side; in her left hand she grasps the shield beneath which the city snake rears its head; her right hand holds a Nike, and therefore needs to be supported by a pillar. On her breast Athene wears the shaggy aegis, with its coils of snakes

and the Gorgoneion; on her head is a helmet with triple crest. The base, more than 3 feet high in the original, was decorated with a relief showing the adornment of Pandora, the Greek Eve, by a number of goddesses. The whole formerly produced so powerful an effect that the ancients declared that only to Pheidias had it been allotted to look upon the figure of the divinity and to reveal it to men.

Even more celebrated than the *Parthenos* was a second statue of a god, the cult-image in the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 180). The spectator boasted that anyone who had ever seen it could never be entirely unhappy. When the traveller entered the dim cella of the temple from the dazzling sun of the extensive place of worship, he saw the image of the god before him, seven times as large as life, so mighty that it seemed to burst the framework of the temple, bathed in a glory of colours. It was not a statue, but the god himself who appeared to be enthroned there. Of this colossal figure in gold and ivory, whose throne was made of black ebony and his cloak figured with lilies of variously coloured enamel, the imitation on a coin of Elis (see Fig. 27) gives only a miserable idea.

We are so fortunate as to possess the original of another work which is for all time connected with the name of Pheidias—the sculptures of the *Parthenon* hewn from Pentelic marble. Pheidias probably designed the frieze, which runs round outside along the outer wall of the cella, and partly executed it with his own hand; in the pediment groups the composition is certainly his, perhaps also the execution. In the case of the frieze it was a question of the continuous

FIG. 63 THE LEMNIAN ATHENE (?) OF PHEIDIAS
The goddess held in her left hand the spear, in the right the helmet. As the work was not a temple-statue many attributes of the goddess are missing. The aegis is loosely girt obliquely across the chest. Body in Dresden, head in Bologna. From Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*.

FIG. 64. MARBLE STATUETTE OF ATHENE PARTHENOS
Athens. From a photograph.

decoration of a strip of marble 520 feet long and 3 feet high. Painting over and the preparation of reins, crowns, and other things in metal assisted the effect of distance in the relief. By a happy inspiration Pheidias represented the festal procession at the Panathenaea, the chief festival held in summer in honour of Athene. The entire people is offering homage to its goddess. Youths gallop along on fiery steeds (Fig. 65) or show their skill in jumping on and off chariots; others quietly conduct the sacrificial animals, women bring different vessels, grave men bear olive-branches, the priest folds the festal costume for the goddess; among the mortals, but unseen by them, the gods are seated in wonderfully natural attitudes, hardly different from men. Thus the frieze is full of humanity and divinity, of repose and life, of freedom and order. It is the most perfect memorial of that Attic spirit which Pericles, with justifiable pride, celebrates in his speech on the fallen Athenians, freely reproduced by Thucydides (p. 59).

One individual feature on the frieze is especially charming—the glorification of the horse. The horse was the favourite and the pride of the Athenians. Pheidias brings

it before us 215 times on the frieze, always in a fresh movement. Large surfaces of the body are kept in repose, and all the expression is concentrated in the eyes, nostrils, and mouth, which sparkle with life. The small, beautifully formed breed, departing from nature, is made still smaller; for the actual proportion of horse and rider, especially viewed at such a height, has an artistically ugly effect.

FIG. 65. MOUNTED YOUTHS FROM THE WEST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

Victor Cherbuliez connects his *À propos d'un cheval* with the rider on the right.

British Museum. From a photograph.

The pediments are as closely connected with Attic legends as is the frieze with native customs. Unfortunately, these are in a substantially worse state of preservation than the frieze, as the figures of the centre of the pediments are completely destroyed, while surviving sculptures closer to the pediment angles are greatly mutilated. The west pediment represents the contest of Athene and Poseidon for the sovereignty of the land of Attica, the east the first appearance of the new-born goddess in the circle of the gods. Here there is a charmingly beautiful group of goddesses, who were supposed to represent the Fates, but in whom it would be more correct to recognize Aphrodite and two companions (Fig. 66). Never before had the beauty of the female form been so vividly grasped, the rustling movement and billowy folds of the closely fitting dress so perfectly reproduced. In the horse's head, sparkling with life, of the east pediment Goethe sees the most perfect representation of the notion of horse, the 'original horse.' Although those sculptures which have been preserved have suffered greatly from the powder explosion in 1687 (p. 159) and the ignorance of earlier times, yet even in ruins they outshine by their incomparable beauty much that has survived intact.

Nearly the whole of the frieze and the majority of the surviving pediment figures were taken, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by Lord Elgin to London, where, as the "Elgin Marbles," they now form the most precious treasure of the British Museum.

Cresilas, a contemporary of Pheidias, created the splendid portrait of Pericles (Fig. 133). The artist's intention was not to keep all the accidental, individual characteristics of the face, but to give the ideal portrait of the great strategus as the Athenian delighted to picture him, full of majesty and gentleness, full of shrewdness and vigour.

FIG. 66. APHRODITE AND COMPANIONS FROM THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. From a photograph.

During the Peloponnesian War the Erechtheion and the temple of Nike received their plastic decoration. In the portico of the Maidens (see p. 159) statues of young maidens (Figs. 45 and 67) fulfil their double duty—to act as supports for the entablature and yet at the same time to stand there in an attitude so perfectly natural that the attempt has been made times without number to imitate these so-called Caryatides, although the harmonious effect of the original has never been reached.

Although the maiden shown in Fig. 67 serves as an architectonic support, in pose and finish she is much more natural and freer than the older maiden of the Acropolis (Fig. 54), who stood detached. The peplos is no longer a kind of wall or screen which hides the body, but the latter comes clearly into view beneath the folds of the garment, which adapt themselves naturally to its forms; the posture of the left foot, turned slightly outward, takes away all stiffness; only the head faces the front, since it leads over to the capital set upon it. The name Caryatid, properly meaning a dancer in the service of Artemis at Caryae, has been naturalized by Vitruvius in the sense of a supporting female figure.

The little temple of Nike (Fig. 46) on a steep slope near the Propylaea on the Acropolis was enclosed by a balustrade, which was decorated with wonderful representations of Victories offering sacrifice to Athene and erecting trophies, among which one, loosening her sandal, is especially charming in the suggestion of movement.

FIG. 67. MAIDEN FROM THE ERECHTHEION
Athens. From Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, i.

We may probably assume the same period as the date of the tomb of Mnesarete (Fig. 68). A servant is standing with bowed head before her mistress; no more beautiful praise of the woman of Attica than such a representation from her life, full of noble humanity, can be conceived. However wonderful the effect of the relief due to the nobility and naturalness of representation, it is still only one of thousands of creations of the stonemasons of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. We do not find, as in modern cemeteries, a constant repetition of hackneyed symbols, such as figures bowed

FIG. 68. GRAVE-RELIEF OF MNESARETE
Munich. From a photograph.

with grief or broken columns; the dead are frequently represented as they were when living, only raised above the sphere of daily life by artistic glorification, as on the frieze of the Parthenon.

The relief shown in Fig. 110 exhibits an older style than the Mnesarete. Orpheus is fetching back his wife from the underworld. Overcome by love, he looks round after her; thus he violates the command of Hades, and Hermes, the conductor of souls, gently grasps Eurydice by the hand, in order to lead her back to the realm of ghosts. In the meeting of the looks, in the gentle touch of the hands, the charm and pathos of this last good-bye are wonderfully reproduced; the manner in which Hermes holds his hands shows us that he is unwillingly performing his office. What an amount of inner life is shown by these almost motionless figures, which fill the narrow limits of the relief slab in a well-balanced composition!

The tendency to throw the body beneath the garment into clear and bold relief, which makes its appearance in Attic art toward the end of the fifth century, appears even more strongly in *Ionic* art. On the so-called monument of the Nereids, a funeral monument in Xanthus in Lycia, there stood figures of maidens hurrying between the columns, whose garments, wet through, cling to their body. In a Nike set up at Olympia (Fig. 69) the Ionic sculptor **Paeonius** of Mende by the aid of a similar treatment of the dress has completely solved the problem of floating downward; the goddess glides slowly down from above on to earth, tightening her cloak distended by the wind like a sail.

The greatest contemporary of the Attic master Pheidias was **Polycleitus,** who was the active head of the Dorian school at Argos and Sicyon. The results of his incessant study of the structure of the male figure by means of proportional measurements of well-shaped young men were embodied by him in his treatise called the *Canon* (rule). His also technically perfect bronze statues are only preserved in numerous marble copies. The statue of the *Spear-holder* (*Doryphoros*, Fig. 70), not a victor in the Pentathlum, but who must probably be recognized as an ideal portrait of Achilles, best illustrates the canon of Polycleitus.

FIG. 69. RESTORATION OF THE NIKE OF PAEONIUS

The actions of flying and hovering already engaged the artists of the archaic period. Paeonius first satisfactorily solved the task. The three-sided base was about 30 feet high.

Olympia. From Studniczka, *Siegesgöttin*, after *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, iii, Plate 48.

FIG. 70. DORYPHOROS (AFTER POLYCLEITUS)
From Pompeii (Naples).

An athletically built youth is standing firmly on the right leg, while the left, the free leg, is slightly set back. The movement of the feet is elaborated in the entire body, the left shoulder somewhat lowered, the hip curved outward, and the slightly turned head. A glance at the *Apollo of Tenea* (Fig. 53) shows us how Greek art since then has been able to master the structure of the human form. The muscles are clearly seen beneath the tightly stretched skin; they are separated one from the other with masterly anatomical skill. The building up of the statue is controlled by a fixed law, not external, but one arrived at by the indefatigable study of living nature. Hence the proportions are perfect, the plastic effect is powerful. In one thing Polycleitus is unpretentious: his *Doryphoros* is especially intended to be looked at in front, and hence shows only one chief point of view.

Another naked youth, the *Diadoumenos* (youth binding his hair), who is placing the victor's fillet round his head, produces a softer effect, more approximating to the Attic manner. The statue probably represents the god Apollo, but shows more human beauty than divine majesty.

To the school of Polycleitus belongs the admirable original statuette, *A Girl with a Cap*, from Beroea in Macedonia (Fig. 71). The bronze statuette (10 inches high) is so wonderfully modelled as regards the body and the folds of the cap that it is one of the finest examples of Greek art preserved to us. According to the evidence of gems, the girl was leaning upon a pillar with her left hand and placing her dress on a basin with the right.

GREEK SCULPTURE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C. Among the great masters of this century, Scopas fills his figures with passionate excitement; Praxiteles robs the forms of the gods of their sublime inaccessibility, and prefers youthful, charming, happily conceived forms, which stand like pictures on flat surfaces, while Lysippus produces statues in bronze, restless and full of expression—in conscious opposition to the canon of Polycleitus he aims

FIG. 71. A GIRL WITH A CAP
From Beroea. Bronze.
Munich. From a photograph.

FIG. 72. EIRENE WITH THE INFANT PLUTUS (CEPHISODOTUS)

The marble copy reproduces a bronze original, no doubt set up by the Athenians in the Agora after the peace with the Spartans (374). The cornucopia supplied is confirmed by coins.

Munich. From the correctly restored plaster cast in the Berlin Museum.

at more slender proportions, and in his creations adds depth as a third dimension, so that his figures offer several effective points of view.

At the beginning of the fourth century **Cephisodotus,** most probably the father of Praxiteles, executed for the Athenians a statue of Peace (Fig. 72). Eirene, the goddess of peace, is holding the infant Plutus (Wealth) on her arm; the heavy vertical folds of her drapery, the severe build of her figure, remind us of the creations of the age of Pheidias, while the humanized conceptions of a more modern age are shown in the motherly attitude of the goddess with bent head looking down on the child. **Scopas** of Paros superintended the reconstruction of the temple of Athene at Tegea and also executed its pediment groups; some badly preserved heads surprise us by the passionate expression of the face. In some slabs from the Mausoleum (p. 161) with battles of the Amazons we recognize the impassioned temperament of Scopas, which sweeps him away. One Amazon is turning round on her horse in the heat of battle, while another is falling in passionate movement upon a retreating Greek (Fig. 73). A raving Bacchante, who has just torn a kid to pieces, is

FIG. 73. AMAZONS AND GREEKS FROM THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM
The figures are brought strongly into relief. The workmanship of the slabs found on the other sides of the sepulchre is not so fresh nor the invention so novel.
British Museum. From a photograph.

represented by Scopas with head thrown back in wild excitement (Fig. 74). A famous group of figures, representing Niobe and her children, who are fated to die by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis, since Niobe boasted of having more children than Leto, the mother of the two divinities, is akin to the artistic tendencies of Scopas. The mental anguish of this *mater dolorosa* of antiquity is best expressed in a good copy of the head in the Oxford Museum (Fig. 75). The statues of the Niobidae at Florence are only inferior copies of the original group; in one daughter (Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican) the original appears free, but remodelled with artistic skill and full effect.

In **Praxiteles** Attic sculpture of the fourth century found its greatest master. He executed but little for impoverished Athens; his best works went abroad. He prefers marble with its glowing effect as a material, into which he knows how to breathe the tender emotions of the human mind. If with Polycleitus it was a matter of formal beauty, if Pheidias strove to confine in forms the inaccessible nature of the divinity, Praxiteles endeavours to hold fast the inwardness of spiritual life. His gods, in their intimate charm and pensive dreaminess, exhibit human characteristics. Men and gods in the prime of life, especially Aphrodite and her circle, stimulate him to represent them. An Eros with his bow; a satyr pouring out wine for himself; a boyish Apollo who, amusing himself in a manner unworthy of a god, is killing a lizard—all show softness of form and delicacy of body. Praxiteles is the only great sculptor of antiquity to whom, thanks to the description of Pausanias, we can with certainty attribute a well-preserved original statue—the *Hermes with the Child Dionysus* (Fig. 76), formerly set up in the temple of Hera at Olympia.

FIG. 74. RAGING MAENAD (SCOPAS)

The marble statuette is an imitation of an original by Scopas. For the arrangement of the drapery compare an Amazon of the Mausoleum (Fig. 73).

Dresden. From a photograph.

Hermes is taking the little Dionysus babe to the nymphs to be brought up. Stopping to rest on the way, the god is showing the child a bunch of grapes in his uplifted right hand; he rests his left arm on the trunk of a tree, on which the drapery is laid in wonderful folds true to nature; Hermes gazes dreamily into the distance, the baby boy in childish longing strives to reach the bunch of grapes, at the same time clinging closely to his elder brother's shoulder. While Polycleitus marked off the muscles sharply from one another, here we see all the forms in easy flow. The head, animated by spirituality and internal joy, forms the crown of the whole. No illustration can give an idea of the illuminating power of the finely polished Parian marble; in this case also the effect was supported by painting over.

Praxiteles was both extolled and condemned for his *Aphrodite* executed for the people of Cnidus (Fig. 77). He ventured to represent the goddess naked, in order that the beauty of the female form might be fully appreciated. Aphrodite is laying her robe aside on a pitcher, before entering the bath. The finely formed head is charmingly turned to one side; even in the copy the soft brilliancy of the eye, famed by the ancients, still produces its effect. **Leochares**, a younger countryman of Praxiteles, who worked with Scopas and other artists at the plastic decoration of the Mausoleum (p. 161), preferred to keep to the conventional sublimity of the figures of the gods. The *Apollo Belvedere* (see Fig. 30), most probably a marble copy of a bronze original of Leochares, filled Winckelmann and Goethe with transports of admiration by the brilliant characterization of the god of expiation and punishment. The original of the splendid statue of Sophocles (see Fig. 10), which, built up on a grand scale and in the features filled with intellectual life, reproduced admirably and perfectly the appearance of the Greek tragedian, was a product of the workshop of an unknown Attic master. The contemporary artist of the head of Euripides (see Fig. 11) and the younger Polyeuctus in his statue of Demosthenes (see Fig. 16) elaborated the individual character still more distinctly; anxiety for Athens, the tense struggle against the enemy, have left unmistakable traces in the features of the great orator. At the end of the fourth century Attic artists executed the famous "Sarcophagus of Alexander" from Sidon,

now in the Museum at Constantinople (Figs. 78 and 123). The outer sides of the sepulchral monument, which was no doubt intended for the Sidonian King Abdalonymus, terminated by a gabled roof, are adorned with battle and hunting scenes from the age of Alexander. A clearly balanced, symmetrical composition makes it easy for the spectator to find his way in the tumult of the battle of Issus. The combatants appear in all possible bold situations, which, however, are often repeated in free correspondence, so that the events can be easily grasped by the eye. The whole character of this work of art is less realistic than that of the Alexander Mosaic (*cf.* p. 210), as is at once obvious from the absence of the characteristic Macedonian *sarissa* (pike). Well-preserved colours, especially blue, yellow, and violet, heighten the effect of the reliefs executed in white marble. The features of Parmenio and still more those of the dying Oriental gain force and expression through the colouring rich in contrast; Alexander is represented as a typical Heracles, and accordingly wears a lion's skin on his head. In execution and state of preservation the Alexander sarcophagus is the most important memorial of ancient coloured sculpture.

Fig. 75. Head of Niobe
Marble.
Oxford, Ashmolean. From a photo of the cast in Munich.

A completer of the old classical, and a pioneer of the new Hellenistic, period was the bronzefounder **Lysippus** of Sicyon. Originally a simple smith, he rose by his own efforts to the position of the most celebrated sculptor of his time, to whom alone Alexander the Great sat for plastic portraits. With justice he might say of himself that his teacher was nature, although he had of course learnt from the productions of his predecessors, from Polycleitus, who like him had worked in Sicyon, as well as from his older contemporaries Scopas and Praxiteles. He is said to have produced fifteen hundred bronze statues during his laborious life, images of the gods, statues of victors, and portraits—

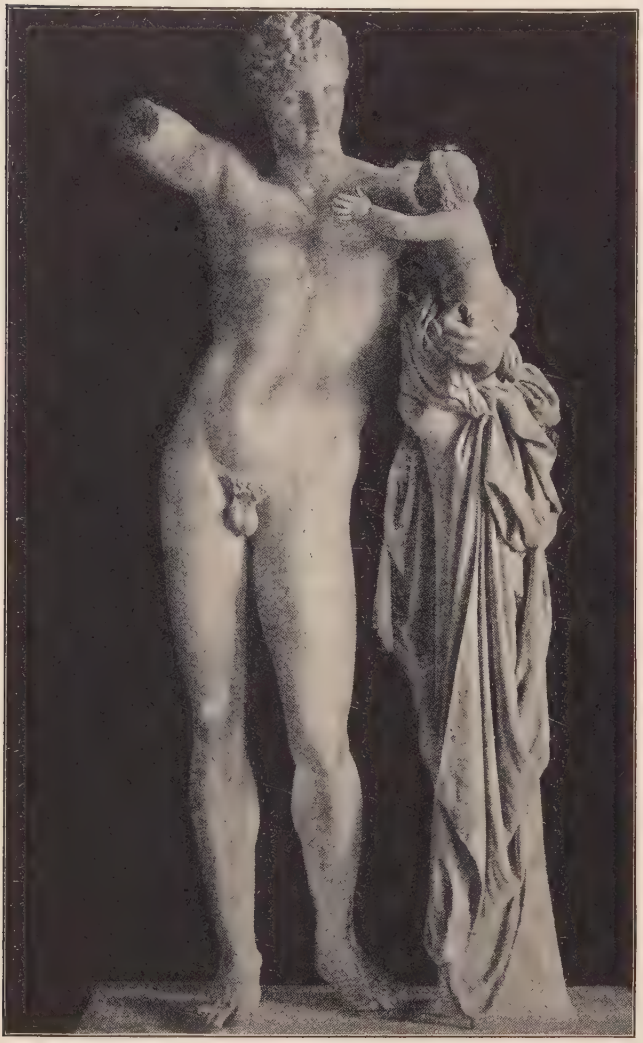


FIG. 76. HERMES WITH THE CHILD DIONYSUS, BY PRAXITELES

The legs of the marble statue are supplied. The contrast of the roughened hair and the smooth skin has a picturesque effect. Traces of colouring are preserved.

Olympia. From Brunn and Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur.*

a prodigious number, which no doubt includes the works of his school. An entirely new conception of art, which strives for greater variety of characters and more lightness in the posture and outlines of the body, was assisted by him to victory, as we can best learn from a close examination of his *Apoxyomenos* (Fig. 79), the much admired original of which was once in the possession of the Emperor Tiberius.

A youth, scraping off the dust of the palaestra with the strigil, stands before us in a state of nature. The proportions are light and slender, the legs loosely set at some distance apart, the body is short, the head rather small and realistically restless; both arms are stretched out in a natural manner into space, so that the once-ruling principle of the relief-like frontal arrangement is completely broken. The peculiarity of this creation of Lysippus becomes especially clear to us if we compare it with the masterpiece of Polycleitus, the *Doryphoros* (Fig. 70), which Lysippus has studied with profit, but consciously altered. The square-built heaviness of Polycleitus has given place to a movable slenderness. Instead of sharply marked-off muscles and large flat surfaces there are gentle transitions and a play of the surfaces of the body as exhibited by nature. While the *Doryphoros* remains in a firm position of rest, the distinction between the two legs being strongly marked, we fancy we see the *Apoxyomenos* actually turning round on the hips. The hair as put on by Polycleitus is smooth and well arranged; Lysippus treats it more loosely and pictorially; the eyes and mouth of the *Doryphoros* are quiet and severe, those of the *Apoxyomenos* full of

restless, almost nervous life. So the master could say with justice that Polycleitus and the older masters had represented men as they were, but that he himself represented them as they appeared to be. Both have complete mastery of nature, but Polycleitus gives expression to it with greater comprehension and style, Lysippus with greater variety and truth to nature; at the same time the later master succeeds in ennobling even everyday occupations by the elegant representation of forms.

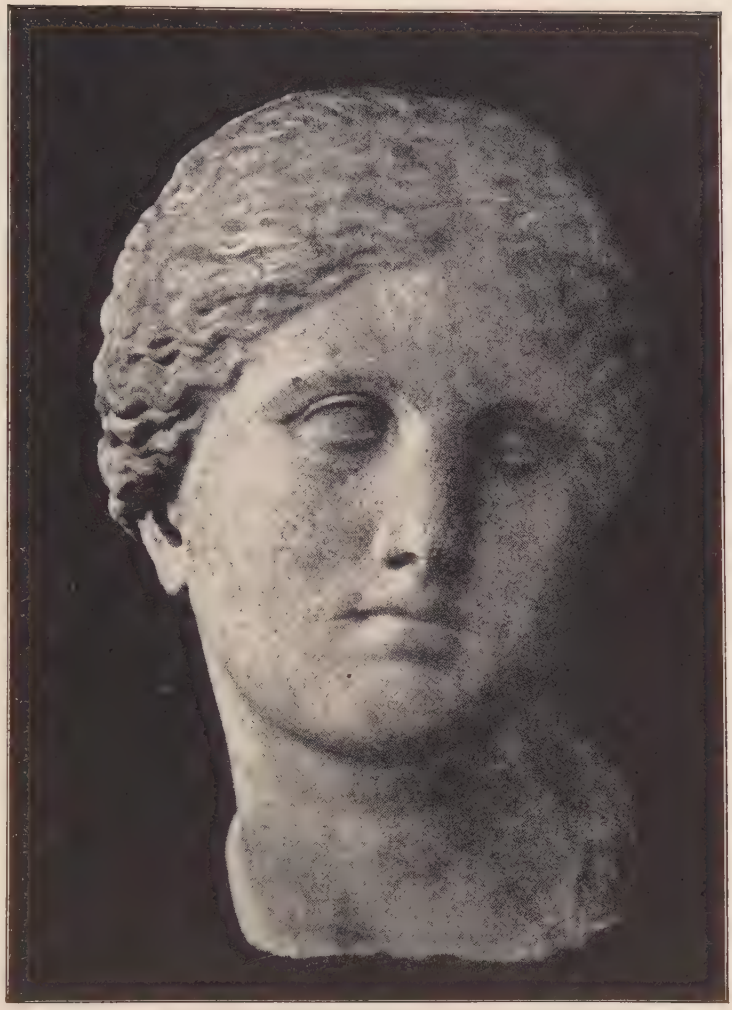


FIG. 77. HEAD OF THE APHRODITE OF CNIDUS (PRAXITELES)

The Vatican possesses the best copy of the entire statue, but the wrongly set head ruins the rhythm. Long ago Lucian, the ancient art connoisseur, called special attention to the head as the most artistically valuable part of this creation of Praxiteles. The Berlin copy is no doubt the work of a Greek artist.

Berlin. Kaufmann Collection. From *Antike Denkmäler*, i.

In his statues of the gods and Heracles Lysippus continues the humanizing conception of the gods. The resting *Hermes* in the Naples Museum is one of the most beautiful bronze statues of antiquity; in the mighty *Heracles* of the Palazzo Pitti at Florence, in which Heracles, after his last labour, the Hesperides enterprise, is leaning, tired out, on his club, the hero's vigorous body shows a contrast with the momentary situation of exhaustion. The famous bronze of the Berlin Museum, the *Praying Boy* (whose arms with the palms of the hands stretched forward had to be supplied), shows entirely Lysippean forms and is certainly the *Adorans* of Boedas, one of his pupils. A bronze head of an Olympian victor (see Fig. 9) shows the height to which the art of casting in

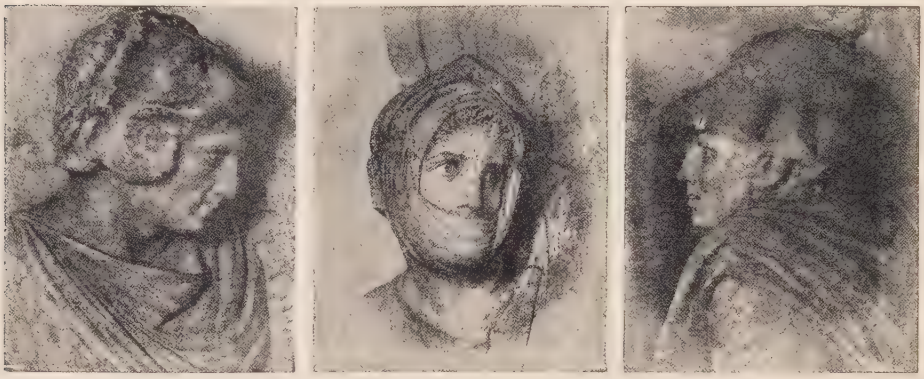


FIG. 78. HEADS FROM THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON

Alexander wears the features and lion's skin of the youthful Heracles. The dress of the Persian leaves little of the face uncovered. The painting of the eyes adds to the impressiveness. In the older Macedonian leader we may probably recognize Parmenio. See also Fig. 123.

Constantinople. From Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Plate 32.

bronze had risen at that time. The artists of Lysippean tendencies were not afraid clearly to characterize the nose bruised and the ears swollen in boxing, even in an honorary statue. The restless life is taken from nature, the characterization is sober, entirely free from the pathos which Scopas gave to his heads.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD (THIRD TO FIRST CENTURY B.C.). Under Alexander the Great Greek culture extends far beyond the limits of the Hellenic world proper. Together with the decay and division of his world-empire into partial empires the combination of East and West is firmly established. This period of the extension of Greek culture toward the East we call Hellenism (p. 68). Continental Greece becomes impoverished and retires into the background, although even in Athens highly esteemed schools of sculpture retain the old skill. The lead passes over to Pergamon as well as to the island of Rhodes; Alexandria also and the great cities of the Syrian Empire appear to have set the fashion. Hellenistic art is rich in artistic currents of different kinds; it follows the path of earlier masters to the utmost limits of possibility, and at the same time possesses the vigour for new, independent creations. The grace of Praxiteles is broken up into melting tenderness, the artistically limited realism of Lysippus is heightened in the ideal portrait of Homer (Fig. 3) and in the Laocoön group (Fig. 83) to an almost painful naturalism. Consummate technical skill and altered taste led to the representation of motives formerly avoided by great plastic art, such as that of drunkenness in the statue of an old woman and in the *Barberini Faun* of the Munich Glyptothek (Fig. 82), even that of bodily suffering in the representation of Marsyas flayed by Apollo. Delight in the idyllic and in *genre*-work penetrates both literature and art (p. 71). Only an age like the Hellenistic possesses the faculty of happily characterizing a child like the *Boy strangling*

a Goose of Boëthus of Chalcedon (Fig. 80). The reproduction of foreign types such as the Gaul is brilliantly successful; yet in this we observe, with all the characteristics true to nature, an idealizing representation both in the outline of the whole and in the reproduction of the individual forms. Even where the Hellenistic artists directly take up devices and compositions of earlier times, as on the great frieze of the altar of Pergamon or in the *Venus of Milo*, we must admire their own great skill.

Attalus I, King of Pergamon, celebrated his victories over the Gauls by setting up groups of bronze statues in Pergamon and Athens. The Ludovisi group of a Gaul who first kills his wife and then himself, in order to escape being captured, and the *Dying Gaul* (Fig. 81) of the Capitol, formerly interpreted as a dying gladiator, are certainly copies of original bronzes of the kind formerly set up in Pergamon. The shield lying beneath the Gaul and the bent trumpet, but above all the twisted neck-chain (*torques*) and the bristly moustache (a fashion of wearing the hair always foreign to Greeks and Romans), are characteristic of the Celts; the posture of the wounded man touchingly expresses the approach of death.

The creative power of the Pergamene school of art is most strikingly revealed in the statue of the *Barberini Faun*, whose head is shown in Fig. 82. The jolly companion and sturdy servant of the god Dionysus, overcome by the Southern heat, has gone to sleep in a state of intoxication; one even seems to feel his breath; "a picture of simple nature, left to itself," as Winckelmann says. The deeply shaded eyes, the ordinary nose, and powerful mouth characterize the child of nature; yet with all his striking closeness to nature the artist suppresses all naturalistic details such as the veins in favour of a combined effect.

FIG. 79. APOXYOMENOS (LYSIPPUS)

A man scraping himself with a *strigil*. In the marble copy the breaking off of the support which united arm and leg does not injure the artistic effect. The bronze original needed no support. When Tiberius removed it to his palace the people forced him to set up the statue again in the open.

Rome, Vatican. From Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, ii.

The greatest creation of the school, the importance of which for later Hellenistic art may be compared with that of the Parthenon frieze for classical

FIG. 80. BOY STRANGLING A GOOSE, BY BOËTHUS

Marble copy from bronze. Herondas mentions a similar group in the temple of Asclepius at Cos. The podgy outlines of the childlike body and the seriousness with which the boy is strangling the goose secure a delightful effect for the group.

Rome, Vatican.

times—the frieze of the altar of Zeus at Pergamon—we are able to admire in the original.

Discovered by the German engineer C. Humann, excavated 1878–86, and put together again by the painful labours of experts, the remains form a most valuable possession of the Berlin Museum. The plan of the altar (p. 163) erected by Eumenes II (196–157 B.C.) as a thanksgiving for several victories afforded space for a frieze more than 360 feet long and 7 feet high. *One* theme fills the extensive surface—the battle of the gods and giants. In the mythical victory of the Olympians over the hostile giants the victories of the Athenians themselves over the barbarians are celebrated, as formerly in the times of Pericles. The gods of heaven, sea, and underworld, Olympians and demigods, are hurling themselves in the heat of battle against the giants, disputing for the mastery with the gods. Through all the figures rushes the unfettered passion of battle. The giants, often already on the point of defeat, defend themselves with desperation ; their legs, generally ending in the coiled bodies of snakes, play an independent part in the struggle. In ever fresh, bold pictures, in which the figures are mixed up in lively fashion, the battle is represented before us. Athene, with the help of her sacred snake, is dragging along by the hair the winged giant Alcyoneus ; for on the place where he was born he is immortal (see Fig. 47). Gaea, the mother of the giants, the instigator of the mischief, rises above ground, lamenting and imploring mercy for her son from the goddess ; Nike crowns the victorious Athene. The figure of Zeus, who with aegis and thunderbolt overcomes three giants at once, is characterized by majestic outlines. Sometimes an agreeable incident interrupts the storm of battle. The youthful giant Otus, represented in purely human form, lets fall his drawn sword, affected by the beauty of his opponent Artemis.

In the composition of the single scenes, in the characterization of the gods, the artists often fall back upon models of the fifth and fourth centuries ; in the restless triple-formed Hecate and the lion-headed giants the ideas are new. A profusion of motives, elaborately intermingled groups, animals, weapons, teams of horses, are heaped up by the artists and placed at the service of a forced pathos. With consummate technique the figures are brought out from the ground of relief almost in plastic roundness, and numerous parts are patched on ; by working deeply into the stone pictorial light effects are obtained and the features of the combatants animated with passion.

The climax of the pathetic is shown in the Laocoön group (Fig. 83) of the Rhodian artists Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus (about 50 B.C.), which stimulated Lessing to make the attempt to settle in accordance with it the boundaries of sculpture and poetry.

Laocoön, who had wedded and had children against the will of Apollo, while offering sacrifice is slain by serpents together with his sons (Virgil, *Aeneid* ; see p. 90). The

FIG. 81. THE DYING GAUL

Marble. The warrior, severely wounded in the side, rests on his shield, and supports himself in such a manner that the wound is not extended. The sword and trumpet are in part restorations.

Rome, the Capitol. From a photograph.

FIG. 82. HEAD OF THE BARBERINI FAUN

Munich. From a photograph.

FIG. 83. THE LAOCOÖN GROUP

The group, highly praised by Michelangelo, strongly influenced the artists of the Renaissance and the barocco style; it was found in Rome in 1506. The upstretched right arm of the father is incorrectly supplied, and in an ugly manner; it is bent too far away in comparison with the head; similarly the right arm of the younger son greatly disturbs the outline of the group. The whole is not, as Pliny thinks, executed from a single stone, but from six blocks.

Rome, Vatican. From a photograph.

FIG. 84. THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE

Marble. The statue, larger than life-size, since 1879 has stood, a figure full of effect, on the main landing of the Escalier Daru in the Louvre. Many investigators assign this masterpiece to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and wrongly connect it with the naval victory gained by Demetrius Poliorcetes (306 B.C.) over Ptolemy at Salamis in Cyprus. Yet in that case the Nike could not have been set up in Samothrace, which was under the influence of Ptolemy.

Paris, Louvre. From a photograph by Braun of Dornach.

FIG. 85. HEAD OF LIVIA

A portrait of the Claudian period. Small ringlets follow the line of the temples. Later, Roman ladies dressed their hair much more artistically.

Copenhagen. From Brunn and Arndt, *Griechische und römische Porträts*

unhappy father in vain attempts to help his children; the younger appears already mortally bitten; the elder, not yet so tightly in the coils, is looking up imploringly at his father. The work clearly shows the change of our taste in regard to ancient creations. While the group appeared the miracle of art to earlier, especially Renaissance, times, the strong accentuation of bodily suffering and the elaboration of individual anatomical features produces a painful effect upon us, though we even now pay tribute to the masterly combination of the three persons and the two serpents in one self-complete group.

A masterpiece, certainly of a late Hellenistic period, is the *Nike of Samothrace* in the Louvre (Fig. 84).

In bold movement she stands on the prow of the ship; the wind is pressing her drapery close to her body; the outstretched wings support the lively movement of the goddess announcing victory. A glance at the female figures shown in Figs. 54 and 67 gives us a clear idea of the consummately skilful mastery of all the devices which art has now attained. There is no longer any external obstacle to the bold flight of invention. Dark folds, deeply worked in, rapidly interchange with clear, flat surfaces. Light and heavy material is characterized with a sure grasp, and the beauty of the body triumphantly comes into view beneath all the clothing.

(*E*) ROMAN SCULPTURE

Older Roman sculpture is dependent upon Etruscan and Greek art. Later, many sculptors' workshops were content with the production of faithful or altered factory-made copies of famous creations of Greek art, which were sought for with increasing eagerness by art-loving Romans for the adornment of their houses and gardens. In the first century B.C. pupils of Pasiteles of Magna Graecia are spoken of as copyists.

Above all, the Romans did important and original work in the departments of portrait busts and historical reliefs. No doubt the strongly marked personalities of the Republican period, such as Caesar (Fig. 20) and Cicero (Fig. 19), were incentives to statuary reproduction; thousands of portraits of Roman Emperors for the whole Empire again and again set Roman art the task of characteristically reproducing the appearance of quite different individualities. How brilliantly it succeeded is shown by female portraits such as those of Livia (Fig. 85) and of Julia, the daughter of Titus (Fig. 112); the difference of character and artistic style is to be seen in the majestic mail-clad statue of

Augustus from Prima Porta (Fig. 21) and the admirably elaborated bust of the haughty, scowling Caracalla (Fig. 86). The after-effect of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol (Fig. 136) extends to the great equestrian monuments of the Renaissance (Gattamelata, Colleoni) and the new Prince-Regent memorial of Adolf Hildebrand in Munich. Rider and horse seem to be united in one mould; pose and gesture characterize the Emperor with an entire absence of superfluity.

FIG. 86. BUST OF CARACALLA

Marble. In mien and attitude the gloomy, brutal character and energy of the dreaded Emperor are clearly marked.

Berlin. From a photograph.

In the Roman art of relief also a strong sense of actuality prevails, which is above all intent upon the clear reproduction of actual occurrences. On the reliefs of the Ara Pacis (see p. 166 and Fig. 87) an effect of depth is produced by higher and lower relief of the figures. The outer walls are covered in the lower half by ornamental scroll-work, which, by the elegant management of the lines of stalks of plants rolled up into volutes, is very effective and in detail reproduces the foliage with fidelity to nature (Fig. 48); in the upper part are figurative reliefs; on the left, by the western entrance, we see Mars, who is looking at the wolf with his twin sons, on the right the hero Aeneas, offering a sow as a victim to his *penates*; on the south side moves a solemn procession, including Augustus and the Imperial family (Fig. 113); on the north side priests and officials walk along slowly and with dignity. The admirable style of the whole reminds us of the art of the Parthenon frieze; a number of individual features enlivens the long series of figures. While the famous relief-figures of the Arch of Titus (see Fig. 22) in Rome, showing the

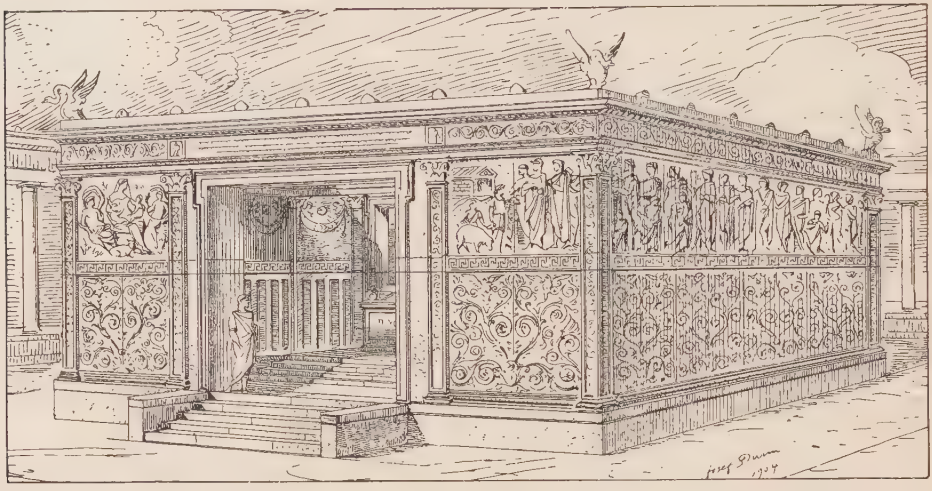


FIG. 87. ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

View from the west. The remains of the altar are at the present time dispersed in various museums. For the first time Italian marble from Luna (Carrara) was employed in a larger sculptural work. See also pp. 166 and 205, and Figs. 48 and 113.

From J. Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer* (second edition), Fig. 80.

bringing in of the spoils from conquered Jerusalem, still produce a lively effect the decoration of the Column of Trajan (A.D. 114) appears drier and more realistic (see Fig. 132). In a band more than 600 feet long, which winds spirally round the column, the deeds of Trajan in both Dacian wars, in close connexion with older triumphal illustrations, are faithfully related in exciting pictures ; the artists have also done justice to the barbarian enemies, among whom the splendid form of a German with long breeches and the characteristic top-knots over the ears excites our attention (Fig. 88) ; in the dramatically lively final scene the Dacian prince Decebalus is surrounded by the Romans in the forest and driven to suicide. In spite of many similarly recurring scenes invention never flags ; the element of landscape, animating and in harmony with the whole, is drawn into co-operation ; the artistic effect of the individual slabs only suffers from the fact that at the twenty-third encirclement of the column the upper windings are withdrawn from the eye of the spectator. Even more important, from the point of view of German antiquity, is the Column of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 193), similar in choice of subject and manner of decoration, glorifying the Emperor's wars against the Germans and Sarmatians. It exhibits single scenes arranged side by side rather than a continuous narrative ; the relief is higher than the Trajanic flat relief and casts stronger shadows ; clearness, as far as the spectator is concerned, suffers from the numerous instances of overlapping. In late Roman times a number of older reliefs were employed to decorate the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 100), an indication of the slackening of creative invention ; the only slightly later relief with the rostra is monotonous and stiffly executed (see Fig. 135).

FIG. 88. GERMANS NEGOTIATING WITH TRAJAN, FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN

At the head of the deputation stands a broad-shouldered, bearded prince in a haughty attitude. The knotted dressing of the hair, the cloak fastened with a round buckle on the bare upper part of the body, and the long trousers characterize him as a German.

From Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule.*

Roman stonemasons also reached the provinces with the Roman armies, and have left behind evidence of their artistic skill, not only in simple soldiers' gravestones (see Fig. 128) and in monuments of their religious life (see Fig. 29), but also in finer works such as the column of Jupiter at Mainz or stately memorials in the district of Trèves.

(*F*) PAINTING

The great branch of Greek painting, wall- and panel-painting, has irrecoverably disappeared—a grievous loss in view of the eminence of Greek artistic skill. Only the information given by ancient writers and the echoes of the paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. found on vases and mural paintings from Pompeii and elsewhere give us a feeble idea of what has been lost About the middle of the fifth century B.C. **Polygnotus** of Thasos, who arranged his figures, which were drawn rather than painted, on ascending ground-lines, without real perspective, was celebrated as the founder of monumental painting and a distinguished painter of ideal types of character. **Agatharchus** of Samos and **Apollodorus** of Athens recognized the importance

FIG. 89. WALL-DECORATION OF THE FOURTH STYLE, POMPEII

Most of the Pompeian houses are decorated in this style. The wall is broken up by painted architecture, and the room is apparently enlarged; lively, glaring colours cover the walls. In the figured paintings the artists often depend upon Greek copies.

From Mau, *Pompeii*, Plate 10.

of perspective and of the effects of light and shade ; Apollodorus freed painting, hitherto tied to architecture, from this connexion, and painted in tempera on stuccoed tablets of wood, the colours being fixed with gum or white of egg. The artists of Asia Minor followed in the footsteps of Apollodorus and eclipsed his reputation ; toward the end of the fifth century **Zeuxis** of Heraclea and **Parrhasius** of Ephesus by correct shading strengthened the plastic effects of the portraits and attained an illusion of reality. The chief work of the contemporary **Timanthes** of Cythnus, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia by Agamemnon, is lost ; a wall-painting from Pompeii, of little value, which treats of the same subject, contains only feeble reminiscences of Timanthes. The most celebrated painter of the fourth century B.C.—indeed, according to the judgment of the ancients the greatest Greek painter of all times—was **Apelles** of Colophon, whose portraits of Alexander were famous for their lofty conception. His *Aphrodite Anadyomene*, rising from the sea with the beautiful upper part of her body and wringing out the water from her hair, was praised in verses without number for its enchanting grace.

FIG. 90. ODYSSEUS AND THE LAESTRYGONES: WALL-PAINTING FROM THE ESQUILINE
From Wörmann, *Die antiken Odysseelandschaften.*

The ancient masters painted on the stucco-priming of the walls, on wooden panels, and more rarely on marble ; at first with colours in tempera, but from the fourth century onward also with wax colours (encaustic), which had long been known and were now for the first time made really serviceable for portrait-painting by a new process of warming and softening.

Roman wall-painting is completely dependent upon that of the Greeks. Among the mural decorations of Pompeii four decorative styles are distinguished (Fig. 89). The individual pictures nearly always reproduce Greek legends in varied gradation of the colours, and as a rule depend upon old Greek models ; *e.g.*, Medea (see Fig. 12), the judgment of Paris, the punishment of Dirce, etc. The landscapes from the *Odyssey* found on the Esquiline, depicting adventures and incidents from the poem, give us an idea of ancient landscape-painting (Fig. 90) ; they are no doubt the work of Greek painters at the end of the Roman Republic. A mosaic from Pompeii, the *Alexander Mosaic* (see Fig. 17), describing the charge of Alexander and Dareius at the battle of Issus with thrilling, dramatic vigour, no doubt goes back to an historical picture in the grand style of Philoxenus (*c.* 300 B.C.) and enables us to feel how much we have lost in the great painting of the Greeks ; a million and a half of the finest stone cubes had to be laboriously put together in four colours—so costly a procedure that the technique of mosaic was at all times compelled to lag behind other techniques.

Vase-painting. Ancient vases, the development of which we can survey without a break from the oldest times, form the best substitute for the lost large paintings. The making of ancient pottery (ceramic) includes not only vases in the modern sense, but also drinking vessels and kitchen utensils. A wealth of forms (p. 235), which enchant us by their admirable structure and beautiful work in profile, corresponds to the various purposes. The vases are produced from carefully washed red clay, painted over with black lustrous colour and then fired in the kiln, as the result of which the surface acquires a warm red and black lustre. If the mass of Greek vases is also a product of mechanical art, yet as a rule the clay vessels never sink to the level of 'factory ware' in the modern sense ; indeed, each ornament is in each case freshly painted on without employment of the model. In many cases we see great masters at work, who with justifiable pride sign their name, and step by step arrive at more perfect performances in the art of drawing. What makes the ancient vases most valuable for us is the fact that they allow us a more intimate glimpse of the life of the ancients than any other kind of memorial. Man is represented in his ways and doings in school and at home, in the workshop and at the banquet, at marriage and at death ; other pictures enrich our knowledge of Greek mythology and religion. If the excavator comes upon potsherds, which he can nearly always date, he is able to fix a definite period for everything found with them. If we find vases by the thousand in Etruria, in the graves of South Russia and North Africa, the historian can infer the rise and fall of trade or the foundation of Greek colonies

at definite times. Thus the ancient vases are of the greatest value artistically, historically, and for the history of culture.

FIG. 91. CRATER OF CLITIAS AND ERGOTIMUS (THE FRANÇOIS VASE)

The zone-like arrangement of the pictures is reminiscent of the geometrical style. The form of the handles points to metal models. The mighty vessel is nearly three feet high.

Florence. From Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei.*

The oldest vessels of the historical Greek period (*c.* 1000–800 B.C.) exhibit the *geometrical style*; the Attic geometrical are also called Dipylon vases from the fine specimens set up as sepulchral memorials in the Athenian cemetery before the Dipylon Gate, where they were first found. A very favourite ornament of the surface of the vessel was linear patterns, such as zigzag, meander, crosses, and chequers clearly arranged; and even the men, who are bewailing a dead man on the bier, and the animals, which are mostly in rows after the style of a frieze, are obliged to submit to the conventional geometrical style (see Fig. 122). The *horror vacui*, the horror of empty surfaces, leads to painting over every unoccupied patch with patterns to fill up. The technique remains that of the old Creto-Mycenaean painting, with dark lustrous black on the light polished clay. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Oriental elements make their way into Greek vase-painting, especially fantastic creatures such as sphinxes and sirens, and vegetable ornaments, such as the lotus and palmette (palm-leaf) patterns. By the side of the works of the mainland—the old Attic, proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Argive vessels—special groups are the Melian vases with rich representations from Greek legend, the Rhodian wine-jugs and platters with beautiful bands of wild and tame animals, as well as the sarcophagus paintings from Clazomenae.

About 600 B.C. *black-figured technique* is fully matured; the lead is gradually transferred entirely to Athens. The figures are painted in full silhouette with glossy black enamel on the light clay ground, the interior designs are given by means of engraved lines, the flesh of women is characterized by a white colouring applied on the clay, and red body-colours are also applied in many details. A splendid example of Attic early black-figured vase-painting is the François vase (Fig. 91) of the sixth century, so called from its discoverer. It was found in Etruria, whither it had been exported like thousands of other Attic vases. We see the beautifully formed *crater* (large bowl for mixing wine) profusely decorated in several bands, one above the other, with mythological representations; at the foot the battle of the pygmies and cranes, a crown of rays, an animal frieze, Achilles pursuing Troilus, the son of Priam, who is trying to escape on horseback; in

FIG. 92. WARRIOR AND HIS WIFE, FROM A WHITE-GROUND LECYTHUS

The Corinthian helmet with plume and the round shield with the eye as device characterize the warrior. The drawing of the wife is one of the finest preserved in Attic painting.

Athens. From W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, Plate 36.

the main bands the procession of the gods at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis ; above this a chariot-race, and lastly the Calydonian boar-hunt. Inscriptions give the name of the potter as Ergotimus, that of the painter as Clitias. While here in the older black-figured vase-painting the drapery still falls stiffly like a board, the younger class of the second half of the sixth century B.C. strives to attain a natural representation of the folds. Amasis, the master of this style, represents two Maenads with arms boldly intertwined round each other's neck before their lord Dionysus (see Fig. 108).

Toward the end of the sixth century a new technique, the *red-figured*, makes its appearance, and soon becomes almost supreme. The figures are no longer painted like silhouettes in black on the red clay ground ; the latter is coated with black lustrous colour, the so-called varnish, and the figures are left free so that they appear red ; the interior designs of the figures are attained by thin black lines. In the course of the red-figured style, skill in drawing increases toward perfection. While in the ' strong ' red-figured style (*c.* 530–470 B.C.) the figures still lack freedom, as in the archaic style,

and the eyes are still seen without correct profile-arrangement, the free style of the Periclean age perfectly reproduces the bodies, foreshortenings, and the line of the upper eyelid. Signatures on vases give us the names of Exekias and Nicosthenes among others as masters of the black-figured style, of the strong red-figured style especially Euphronius and Duris. On the inner picture of the cup of Euphronius (Fig. 8) a Triton has carried down the youthful Theseus, the *protégé* of Athene, to his mother Amphitrite at the bottom of the sea. As in the ode of Bacchylides (p. 41) she is holding out a wreath to Theseus; the form of the goddess appears laved by the water of the sea. One of the lecythi (tall cylindrical vases) on a white ground, which, filled with oil, were set up on graves, bears a perfectly beautiful picture of the free style of the age of Pheidias. A youth with shield and helmet is standing before his wife sitting with an air of dignity and at the same time naturally; the fine outlines of the body are clearly prominent beneath the lightly designed drapery; it is a picture from life full of noble nature, which in manner reminds us of the grave-reliefs of the time of Pheidias. Here also the technique aids the effect; on the fine white clay coating the thin outlines of the figures as well as the various colours with which this style paints over the drapery produce a beautiful effect. In the *fourth century* B.C. the drawing on the vases becomes in general rarer, the employment of varied colours and gold in red-figured pictures more frequent. In Lower Italy as early as the age of Pericles there existed factories, closely dependent upon Attic models, which in the fourth century B.C. by preference produce splendid massive amphorae, the mythological pictures of which clearly show the influence of the theatre (see Fig. 13). In the *Hellenistic pottery* of the third to the first century vases adorned with reliefs and coloured glaze-ware, closely connected with works in metal, make their appearance.

FIG. 93. CRANES IN REED-BED: A BOWL OF TERRA SIGILLATA BY ATEIUS

The form of this charming bowl of the time of Augustus is also found among the silver vessels of Hildesheim.

Mainz. From a photograph by Professor Neeb, Mainz.

Among the Romans the use of the so-called *terra sigillata* (clay adapted to receive stamps or impressions), a red-glazed clay-ware, whose decorative relief both in Italy and the provinces was made by pressing out from mould-basins, was greatly favoured. The finely moulded cup of the potter Ateius (Fig. 93), charmingly decorated with cranes in a reed-bed, was brought to light in the camp at Mainz, but was certainly made at Arretium in Upper Italy. As a rule, in the Roman 'find-spots' in Germany sigillata vessels produced in the province are found, which often by their name-stamp and manner

FIG. 94. TERRACOTTA GROUP OF TWO GIRLS

The girls are playing ἐφεδρισμός, a game in which the loser carried the winner on his or her back. The right knee of the girl who is being carried is put through the left arm of the girl who is carrying her. Fine Boeotian work.

Murnau, Loeb Collection. From Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*, Plate 35.

of decoration can be so accurately dated that it is sometimes possible to settle definitely to a decade the duration of the existence of the ' find-spot ' of a fortress, country-house, or city settlement.

(*G*) INDUSTRIAL ART

The high standard of ancient industrial art is indicated not only by the painted vases, but especially by the *coins*, which reflect in a long series all the phases of the style of Greek art. The fresh stamping shows in profusion in turn images of the gods, portraits of princes, or city coats of arms (Figs. 27, 34, 116, 117). There are not, as at the present day, dreary series of coins mechanically stamped alike, but every piece of money is freely struck with the stamp and has the effect of a freshly invented work of art. Similar pictures are cut into precious stones, a difficult art which in modern times is no longer practised ; stones deeply incised are called *gems*, those engraved in relief *cameos*. On the Augustan cameo (see Fig. 35) we see above Augustus enthroned by the side of Roma, while Tiberius alights from the triumphal chariot ; below, on the left, by the side of German prisoners, nobly represented, a trophy is being set up, on the right a Celt is being dragged along.

Necklaces, earrings, pins for drapery, vessels in bronze and precious stones, marble show-vessels, furniture—all these also are found decorated with high technical skill in exquisite taste. The silver *tableware* of a distinguished Roman, consisting of a crater ornamented with scrolls and numerous cups and goblets, was recovered at Hildesheim and is now in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 118). However primitive may be the ancient lamp, which burns feebly with a small wick and smokes with a large one, yet the decoration is enchanting. We often find several lamps set or hung upon architectonically constructed candelabra (see Fig. 107) ; chandeliers also occur.

Terracottas, charming little figures of burnt clay, which were produced at all times, especially pretty ones in the fourth and third centuries at Tanagra

FIG. 95. STREET-BOY PULLING A THORN FROM HIS FOOT. TERRACOTTA; PRIENE
Berlin, Antiquarium. From a photograph.

FIG. 96. ROMAN GLASS BEAKER
Vas diatretum. This masterpiece of the third century A.D. was presented to Ludwig I of Bavaria out of gratitude for his services in completing Cologne Cathedral.
Munich. From a photograph.

in Boeotia and in Asia Minor, serve for an ornament to rooms and for votive offerings. Elegant women in walking dress, figures of gods, droll caricatures, and *genre*-pictures delight us by the variety of their invention. The Boeotian group reproduces a game called ἐφεδρισμός (Fig. 94); a girl is carrying a companion, the winner in the game, on her back. Another figure shows a street-boy endeavouring to pull out a thorn from the sole of his foot (Fig. 95). In spite of his painful occupation an expression of Southern joy in life shows itself in the form clothed only in a few rags.

Roman industrial art also produces splendid work in the making of glass-ware; famous workshops on the Rhine furnished blown and moulded glasses; indeed, the Romans even understood the art of cutting out with borer and knife the surrounding network of a glass from the originally thick glass core; such a *vas diatretum* (Fig. 96) from a grave of the third century A.D. at Cologne bears the inscription: *Bibe multis annis* ("Drink [from me] for many years!").

(*H*) TOPOGRAPHY

ATHENS. *The Acropolis.* In ancient as in modern times the steeply rising calcareous rock of the Acropolis, about 530 feet above sea-level and about 230 feet above the modern city, gives the characteristic stamp to the picture of the city of Athens. The naturally protected situation of the place at an early date attracted the original inhabitants to settle in it, and from here Cecrops and Theseus, the kings of the Athenians, the centre of a tissue of legends, dominated the land. The buildings still standing on the stronghold belong to the classical period of Greek art, the fifth century B.C., although even before the destruction of the older buildings by the Persians the Acropolis was already adorned with splendid temples, the predecessors of the modern buildings. On the site of the Parthenon an almost equally large temple was still in course of construction, and on that of the Erechtheion stood the 'old temple' of Athene and Erechtheus; an older gate structure occupied the place of the present Propylaea. Between the Parthenon and Erechtheion was a lofty temple, called from its length Hecatompedon (100 feet), at first erected as an amphiprostyle (see Fig. 42) of porous limestone (the so-called poros), later, at the end of the sixth century, enlarged to a peripteros by a ring of columns. All these witnesses of a high condition of artistic life in archaic times were changed by the Persians (480–479) into a heap of rubbish. During the rebuilding of the citadel the Athenians levelled and enlarged the surface of the ground with this rubbish; in more recent times the remains of older buildings, statues (*cf.* Fig. 54), and vases were recovered by excavation, and thus an excellent idea of Greek art before the Persian wars was obtained.

The new plan for the erection of buildings on the Acropolis reveals the spirit of Pericles directed toward what was great. Splendid temples were intended as a thank-offering to the gods for having given victory to the Hellenes in their great struggle for existence; at the same time they were meant to show that the Athenians could love the beautiful without becoming ostentatious. Pericles lived to see the completion of the Parthenon and Propylaea, while the Erechtheion and the temple of Nike were not finished until later during the Peloponnesian War (p. 160). On the southern slope of the citadel lay two *theatres*, on the east that of Dionysus, in whose predecessor the plays of the great tragedians were performed, but whose stone seats were not built until after the middle of the fourth century; on the west, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, a three-storied building of the second century A.D. for theatrical and musical performances. Between those two buildings extends a *colonnade*, built by Eumenes II of Pergamon, a friend of the Athenians, in the second century B.C.

The Lower City. The city at first developed on the south and west foot of the citadel; in the west lay the Areiopagus with the famous criminal court, and the Pnyx, in ancient times the place where the assemblies of the people

were held. Toward the north extended the Cerameicus, the potters' quarter, in which the Peisistratidae laid out a new splendid agora. In 479 Themistocles built a *ring of walls* for the city, and about 460 communication with the harbour of Piraeus was assured by the construction of the "Long Walls." At the same time, at the north-west corner of the city-wall, near the Dipylon Gate (the "double gate" to Eleusis), arose the cemetery through which the Eridanus flows. The most beautiful temple in the lower city, the Theseion, begun at the same time as the Parthenon (p. 158), still stands to-day in a well-preserved condition; perhaps it was dedicated to Hephaestus. Even after the loss of political freedom the city received still further adornment. In 334 Lysicrates, in memory of a victory obtained by the chorus of boys when he was choregus, had a tripod set up to crown a charming little Corinthian round temple. The orator Lycurgus at the end of the fourth century B.C. completed the building of the Theatre of Dionysus on the south-east slope of the Acropolis and built the stadium on the farther side of the Ilissus.

In Hellenistic times patrons of Athens erected splendid buildings in the northern quarter of the city—Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt a gymnasium, Attalus II of Pergamon (197–159 B.C.) the Stoa of Attalus, a colonnade for marketing. Andronicus of Cyrrhus constructed the so-called Tower of the Winds (p. 162), a water-clock, near the site of the later Roman provision market. The Emperor Hadrian appears as a genuine second founder of Athens; in the north he built a library, whose imposing west side, known as the Stoa of Hadrian, is still preserved. Toward the south-east he enlarged Athens by an entire city-quarter. A gate separated this new city of Hadrian from the old city of Theseus. The former contained the mighty temple of Olympian Zeus (p. 162), completed by the Emperor.

PRIENE. Priene, an Ionic town on the coast of Asia Minor, exhibits the typical plan of a Greek town in the early Hellenistic period. If Pergamon shows us the splendour of a princely residence, in Priene we see, as in the considerably larger Pompeii, the typical picture of a country town of about four thousand inhabitants. The thorough excavations of the Berlin Museums, conducted by Wiegand and Schrader, have enabled us to understand its plan in complete detail. The lower city, with streets intersecting one another at right angles, spreads out at the foot of an almost inaccessible acropolis, amid whose crags eagles make their home, the whole made into a fortress by a wall more than six feet thick. The plan of the town is not completely adapted to the slope of the ground, but this is so transformed by strong terrace-buildings and flights of steps that it is possible to make monotonous, regular quarters of the town according to the theory of Hippodamus (p. 162). A wide main street leads to the stately market, in the centre of which no doubt is the altar, shut in on three sides by porticoes and shops. By the side of the great market, where the town also celebrated its festivals, extends the provision market with its open shops and noisy activity. On the north, near the market, are situated the town official buildings, among them the council-room of the

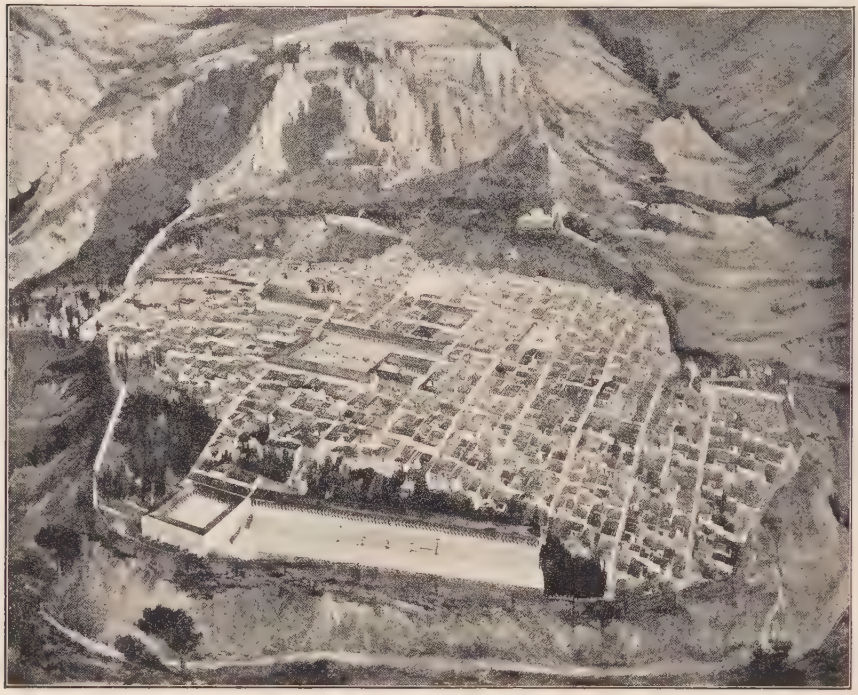


FIG. 97. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PRIENE
From a drawing by A. Zeppelius.

community (Ecclesiasterion). In many places fresh spring-water, which again runs away in canals covered with slabs, flows from numerous wells. In the most northerly quarter of the town, where the ground rises much higher, we find a small theatre embedded. In the south, during the Hellenistic period, the town was terminated by a gymnasium with a racecourse (stadium) adjacent. But the most precious possession of the inhabitants, its far-famed treasure, was not these buildings, but the temple of the town-goddess Athene built by the great architect Pytheus in the Hellenistic-Ionic style, dedicated by Alexander the Great.

ROME. *Development of Rome.* Its natural position from the beginning favoured the development of Rome, already called the "eternal city" in ancient times, into the capital of the Roman Empire, in the Middle Ages into the seat of the spiritual world-empire of the Popes, and in modern times into the capital of united Italy. Lying on important ways of communication from north to south, on the bank of a river (the Tiber) navigable up and down stream, sufficiently near the seashore to attract all the treasures of the Mediterranean, sufficiently far from it to be safe from piratical attacks, in a protected, healthy, and elevated position on the hills of the plain of Latium, in very early times it was an attractive settlement. Tradition gives 753 B.C. as the date of the

foundation of Rome; but sepulchral finds have proved that the place had been inhabited from about 1000 B.C.

The settlers for a long time confined themselves to the left bank of the Tiber and a few heights, and it was only by degrees that Rome became the city of the seven hills. The oldest settlement of Romulus, the *urbs quadrata*, lay on the Palatine. It was probably enlarged to the *Septimontium*, the city of the seven circuits, which is by no means identical in meaning with the later city of the seven hills; for the Septimontium was only situated on three hills—the Palatine, the Esquiline, and part of the Caelian. From this form of the city arose the *city of the four regions* by the addition of the whole of the Caelian and Viminal, and the subjection of the Sabine population on the Quirinal. The Forum, the market-place in the valley, overhung by the Capitoline Hill with the common sanctuary, became the centre of the new community and the focus of the life of the State. Rome received a new form by the construction of a fortress-wall, which in the east on the Esquiline took the shape of a massive rampart with a ditch, still in the time of Horace a favourite promenade. The building of the wall, like many works of the regal period, is ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius. This *Servian city* included the Aventine, and for about five hundred years formed the historic Rome of the Republic. In the interests of defence the wall touched the Tiber only for about 900 feet, so that on the important bank only the cattle-market (*forum boarium*) could find room. When, after the Punic wars, the population by degrees greatly increased, the Aventine and Esquiline, hitherto almost uninhabited, were built upon, and when at the same time Rome lost its importance as a fortress the settlement broke through the ring-wall and took possession of the long stretch of the bank of the Tiber. The water-supply and the sewers, already constructed during the regal period, were permanently improved, and after the third century B.C. the narrow streets were paved with the excellent lava pavement which we still admire in such ancient highways as the Via Appia. Nevertheless, until Imperial times the appearance of the city was on the whole unsightly and the buildings poor. The mass of the population was cooped up in lodging-houses (*insulae*), which later surpassed those of modern times in height, a condition of things only rendered more tolerable by the fact that Southern life for the most part was carried on in the open air and public buildings.

Augustus took in hand a new division of the city into *fourteen regions*. Many districts acquired a strongly marked special character, such as the harbour district, with its warehouses south of the Aventine, and the Subura between the Esquiline and the Viminal, the living and business quarter of the small people, whose life and manners are vividly described by Juvenal and Martial (p. 97). By levelling the extensive woods in the east of Rome, room was acquired for buildings and the laying out of gardens in Imperial times. The Emperors constructed their magnificent edifices, the *Imperial fora*, north of the Forum Romanum, and their palatial buildings on the Palatine; soon

after the time of Pompey the Campus Martius on the north was encroached upon in the erection of public monumental buildings. Aurelian (A.D. 270–275) and his successor Probus, in consequence of threatening barbarian invasions, again made Rome a fortress by the construction of a brickwork wall nearly twelve miles long and more than forty-eight feet high, which also took a region beyond the Tiber (*Trans Tiberim*) into the city territory and at the present day is still in great part standing. When Constantine removed his residence from Rome to Constantinople (A.D. 330) Rome sank from the chief city of the world to a provincial town ; no more new buildings were erected ; in spite of occasional renovations the old ones fell into decay, and as the result of the plundering of migratory peoples the brilliant city lost much of its lavish decoration.

Divisions of the City. 1. *Forum.* The Forum, later named Forum Romanum to distinguish it from the Imperial fora, lay between the Palatine, Capitoline, and Esquiline, and was about 500 feet long and 160 feet wide. At first it was the market-place with the booths of shopkeepers and workmen, while the field of political life was the square comitium, situated in the north near the prison ; later it was entirely covered by public buildings, temples, basilicas, and town-houses. The majority of the buildings go back to early times, but were renovated and enlarged, especially by Caesar and Augustus. The first basilica in the Forum was built by the censor Marcus Porcius Cato in 184 B.C. Approaching the Via Sacra from the east, one left the temple of Caesar (Templum Divi Julii, 1[1]) on the right, while the Regia (2), the official residence of the pontifex maximus, and the round temple of Vesta (3), in which the six Vestal Virgins guarded the sacred fire, remained on the left. Through the Arch of Augustus with its three entrances (4) one entered the long four-sided Forum, in the centre of which stood the chapel of Janus (5), the gates of which were never shut except in time of perfect peace. On the left, in the south, rose the temple of the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux (6), of which three Corinthian columns are still standing, and the imposing Basilica Julia (7), built by Caesar and Augustus, in which the jury-courts sat. In the west the Arch of Tiberius (8) and the well-preserved Arch of Septimius Severus (9) terminated the open space ; between them was the orators' platform (rostra, 10) erected by Caesar. In the north rose the Senate-house (Curia Julia, 11) with the council-room of the Senate and the Basilica Aemilia (12), which contained a portico and numerous magistrates' offices. Between the market-place and the Capitol stood the temples of Vespasian, Concord, and Saturn (14, 15, 16) ; a little to one side was the Carcer. Of the temple of Saturn, the centre of the favourite popular festival Saturnalia (p. 145), eight unfluted columns are still standing, of the temple of Vespasian three Corinthian columns. Near the slope of the Capitoline Hill was the two-storied Public Record Office (*tabularium*, 13).

2. *The Imperial Fora.* When the growth of the population made public buildings more and more necessary, individual Emperors laid out special

[1] The numbers in this paragraph relate to those in the illustration opposite.

FIG. 98. THE CAPITOL AND THE FORUM ROMANUM IN IMPERIAL TIMES

View from the east.

Reconstruction by L. Levy. From H. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*, i.

FIG. 99. THE BASILICA OF MAXENTIUS
From a photograph.
[*Cf.* Fig. 51.]

market-places which they equipped with extraordinary magnificence. Already the Forum Caesaris, close by the old Forum Romanum, and its continuation the Forum Augusti excited admiration by its profusion of columns; but all these structures were surpassed in grandness of plan and brilliancy of execution by the Forum Trajani, a much admired work of the architect Apollodorus. By it Trajan realized the intention of Caesar to connect the Forum Romanum directly with the Campus Martius by cutting away the elevation between the Capitoline and the Quirinal. The square colonnaded court with the equestrian statue of the Emperor, which was closed on one side by the imposing Basilica Ulpia, was entered through a triumphal arch; adjoining this were two libraries, on either side of Trajan's Column. The completion of the plan in the north-west, the temple of Trajan surrounded by pil'ars, was first carried out by Hadrian.

3. *The Capitoline Hill.* In the interior of the city the Capitoline, which consisted of a hill with two peaks and a saddleback hill between, rose commandingly. On the northern summit, more than 150 feet high, lay the citadel (*arx*) with the temple of Juno Moneta, later the mint; opposite rose the Capitol with the imposing, often-restored national sanctuary, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the steep declivity of the Tarpeian Rock. A steep road, the Clivus Capitolinus, led up from the Forum to the Capitol.

4. *The Palatine and its Surroundings.* Legend transferred not only the story of the founding of the city, but also all the oldest sanctuaries, to the

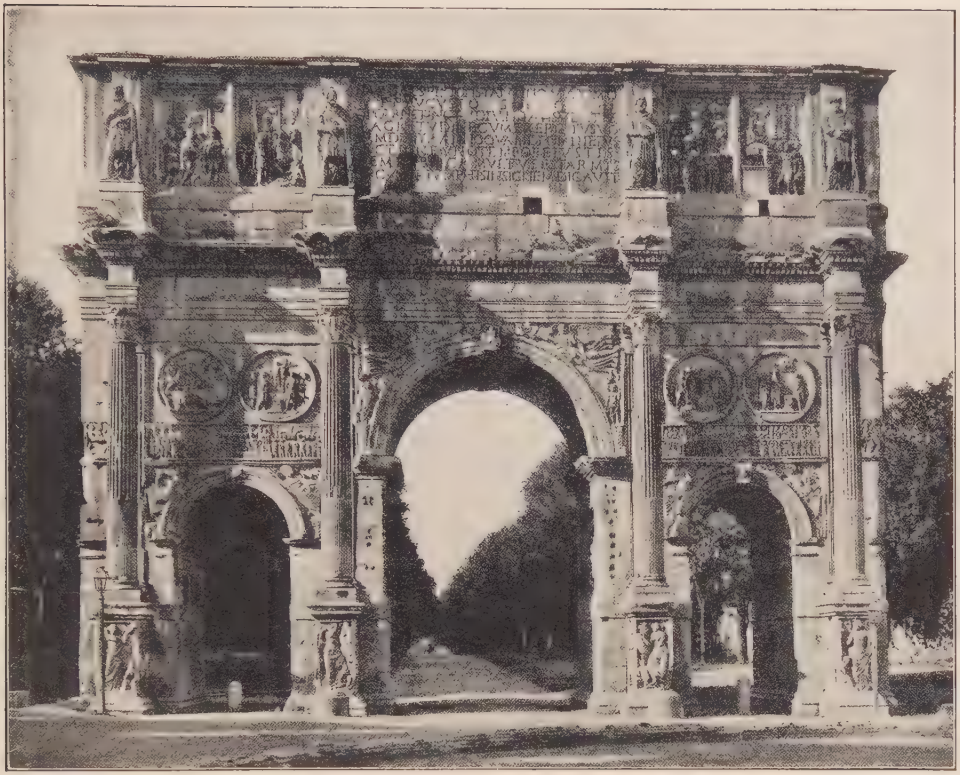


FIG. 100. THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE (NORTH SIDE)

The reliefs on the attica are from the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, the figures in front from the Trajanic, the four medallions from the Hadrianic period. The medallions on the south side are probably taken from a monument of Domitian. The reliefs on the narrow side of the attica as well as the two in the main gateway pictured the battle of Trajan with the Dacians. Only the rest of the plastic work certainly belongs to the time of Constantine.

From a photograph.

Palatine, the site of the oldest settlement. Here, in historic times, were the residences of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Domitian, and Septimius Severus, as well as some temples. The valley between the Palatine and the Aventine was occupied by the original Circus Maximus, which, some 1800 feet in length and 350 in breadth, afforded accommodation for about 150,000 persons. Entering Rome in the south-east by the Via Appia, one left the Thermae of Caracalla (p. 169) on the left, turned round the Circus Maximus to the right into the Via Triumphalis, and soon reached the Colosseum. Here, near the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 100), the road turned off sharply toward the west to the Arch and Forum of Titus, the gigantic double temple of Venus and Roma, built by Hadrian, and the Basilica of Constantine remaining on the traveller's right.

5. *The Campus Martius.* The Campus Martius was originally used only as a place of meeting for political assemblies and gymnastic exercises, and was

dedicated to the god of war. In older Republican times the *navalia* (dry docks), a wharf, and the Circus Flaminius were erected on the bank of the Tiber. In front Pompey built a much-admired theatre with a portico; under Augustus the Campus received even more profuse decoration by the erection of the Ara Pacis (p. 166), the Mausoleum of Augustus (p. 166), and the Theatre of Marcellus, the beautifully shaped outer wall of which, of travertine limestone, is yet standing. We are still able to admire the most beautiful ornament of the Campus, the Pantheon (p. 168).

6. *Trans Tiberim.* The district on the right bank of the river was originally called Ager Vaticanus (whence the modern term Vatican), later Trans Tiberim. A long ridge, the Janiculum, shut off the entire tract of land, and had early been fortified against the attacks of the Etruscans. On the slopes, whence there was an unobstructed view of Rome, the country-houses of distinguished persons were situated, at the foot the gardens of Caesar. In the north stood the Circus of Nero, horribly notorious for the tortures of the Christians, and the Mausoleum of Hadrian (p. 169).

Pompeii. Pompeii, founded by the Oscans, later occupied by the Samnites and Romans, lies on the subsoil of a very old inert torrent of lava, on the bank of the navigable Sarnus, at that time only about 1500 feet from the sea. Destined by its favourable position to be a trade emporium, the little country town became very flourishing, and finally numbered about twenty thousand inhabitants, many of them Romans of independent means. In A.D. 79 a violent eruption of Vesuvius abruptly stifled its flourishing life and buried the town, together with Herculaneum and Stabiae, beneath a layer of fragments of pumicestone and ashes more than twelve feet in depth, causing the death of more than two thousand persons. The misfortune of the town became a source of instruction for us in later days. Since the eighteenth century about three-fifths of the buried town have been again laid bare, and we can walk to-day through the streets of Pompeii like the Romans two thousand years ago. We not only get a complete picture of the plan of a city of early Imperial times and of the Oscan tufa period, but we can also see into the inner life of the inhabitants, their houses, rooms, furniture, work, and passions—an all-round picture of ancient life such as no other place offers. Until the second century B.C. Pompeii was a simple little country town with one-storied houses of limestone; chiefly in the period from 146 to 80 the Hellenistic style of building made its way into the town, still at that time inhabited by the Oscans. Limestone was displaced by the admirable tufa as building material; the introduction of the column completely alters and sets off the appearance of the town; houses are built in a more luxurious style—instead of the Tuscan atrium without columns the atrium with four or six columns comes into fashion, and after the Greek model a peristyle is added to the house. In 80 B.C. Sulla settled a colony of Roman soldiers in the town and thereby started the Latinization of Pompeii. In A.D. 63 a violent earthquake reduced considerable portions of the town to ruins; the necessity for rebuilding was

FIG. 101. FORUM OF POMPEII

In the background is Vesuvius. In the foreground are the socles of the Imperial statues. Notice in front the netlike masonry (*opus reticulatum*), which was much in favour after the time of Augustus.

From *Aus dem klassischen Süden*, Plate 24.

taken advantage of to renew the buildings and decoration in the manner of the Imperial period. While these works were still in progress the catastrophe of 79 occurred.

The ground-plan of Pompeii exhibits in the oldest parts, near the two fora, pictorial irregularities, in the more recent an entirely symmetrical arrangement. Where the old torrent of lava ends steeply and in a point on the Sarnus, there lay on a protected spot the oldest settlement, the citadel, now called *Foro Triangulare* from its shape. Here rose the earliest sanctuary of the town, the Greek temple built about 500 B.C. The forum proper of Pompeii (Fig. 101) is the best-preserved market-place of antiquity; it was surrounded on three sides by open colonnades, in which the inhabitants walked up and down, gossiping and chaffering. Numerous statues decorated the open area, which was paved with slabs of a kind of marble; it was embellished by the temple of Jupiter and the sanctuary of Apollo near by, enclosed by a wall. All noisy trades, as in Rome, were relegated to special places—the provision- and fish-market to a building named *macellum*, the cloth-workers to a large bazaar, judicial life to a spacious basilica, so that the forum also architectonically

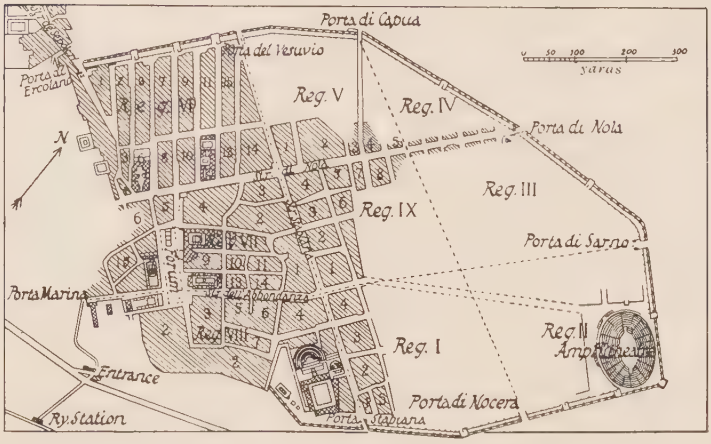


FIG. 102. PLAN OF THE CITY OF POMPEII
The division into nine *regiones* and *insulae* is modern and acts as a guide.
From Mau, *Pompeii*, Plan I.

exhibited a varied picture of sacred and profane buildings. The fact that little Pompeii possessed three splendid thermae (p. 165) shows how much greater was the part played by public *baths* among the Romans than among us at the present day. On the slope of the Foro Triangulare a large theatre in the Greek style was built, the adjoining court with corridor being in less civilized times converted into a barracks for gladiators. Hard by was a small covered theatre, chiefly intended for musical performances. The gladiators exhibited their skill in the amphitheatre in the south-east corner of the town, which held twenty thousand people.

The numerous *private houses*, whose development we can here survey through a period of three centuries, were built on the narrow streets with high pavements which hardly permitted vehicular traffic ; the Italian atrium-house is rare, the Greek peristyle-house commoner (p. 229). The houses are mostly built of little pieces of rubble combined with mortar, on the outside more or less without ornament, the walls inside covered with stucco and painted over ; on the whole, just as in the Greek house, the charm of the structure is developed internally ; later parts of the house or whole houses consist of brick. To the best period of Pompeii, the Hellenistic-Oscan tufa period of the second century B.C., belong parts of the Casa delle Nozze d' Argento (the House of the Silver Wedding), whose severe and stately atrium has been successfully restored, as well as the profusely decorated House of the Faun, with its fine tufa architecture, its precious works of art, and its mosaic floors, such as the Mosaic of Alexander (p. 210). In the period before and after A.D. 63 a less refined taste is shown by the profusion of ornaments in the House of the Vettii, which is famous for its good state of preservation and its wealth of pictures and furniture. The artistic merit of the splendid equipment of the houses is not to be ascribed to Roman skill, but entirely to Greco-Hellenistic influence ; we may even assume that many works of Greek artisans and artists were executed on the spot. The workshops of the fullers (*fullonica*), a tannery, and bakeries afford an insight into the method of work and the workshops of the artisans.

The dead were buried outside in front of the town on both sides of the streets, which thereby became the *Streets of Graves*. But the memorials were no longer of the touching simplicity of those in the Greek cemeteries (p. 188); people of distinction erected stately tombs for their dead, which together with the frame of cypresses still at the present day form a picturesque ornament of the street.

V. PRIVATE LIFE

IN older times the private life of the Greeks shows great simplicity. It is not until the fourth century B.C. that their mode of life becomes more refined as public life attracted less attention and the passion for war disappeared, and in Hellenistic times one can speak of a certain luxury. The same is the case with Rome. Here also great simplicity prevails at first, and it is only in the last century of the Republic that luxury gains ground, after the acquisition of the rich and highly developed provinces of the East; it increases still more in Imperial times, but certainly attains its real highest point as early as the time of Nero.

(*A*) THE DWELLING-HOUSE

GREEK. At first, like the rest of the Indo-Germans, the Greeks lived in the *conical or round hut*, as it originated from the tent of the nomad period. Its outline then, obviously for practical reasons, assumed a more oval form, out of which grew the everywhere widely used rectangular type.

The developed *peasant's house*, which preserved its form throughout all times, is reminiscent of the old Saxon. Under the flat gabled roof is the quadrangular house-room, which by means of lateral separation of stalls and partitioning off a narrow space of three rooms in the rear, with the *exedra*, "the good room," in the centre, is naturally articulated. An upper story, chiefly used for domestic purposes, was not infrequently added.

The *town-house*, whose full development had less importance for the Greek than for us at the present day, since his life had grown up in more intimate connexion with publicity, exhibits the same plan for centuries. It stands to a certain extent between the Homeric castle of independent buildings joined together (p. 33, Fig. 7) and the peasant's house with its fixed, closed ground-plan. While it is shut off toward the outside, its rooms open toward the court (αὐλή) in the centre, which is considered by the Southerner as the centre of communication and frequently takes up half the entire house-room. Its street-front is insignificant; windows are only to be seen in the upper story, where one exists, while the ground-floor receives air and light through the doors.

As in the peasant's house, the ground-plan from front to back is often divided into three strips: the first, if not limited to a vestibule (πρόθυρον), contains stables, workshops, shops, and the like, the second is allotted specially to men, the third to women, so far as the latter are not assigned to an upper story. Of individual rooms there are the prostas in the central portion, a hall adjoining the court and open toward the south,

which may be compared with the Homeric *αἴθουσα*, and a men's hall (*ἀνδρών, οἶκος, ἔξεδρα*), which especially in Hellenistic times becomes of importance. In the hinder part of the house lay the frequently mentioned domestic apartment (*δωμάτιον*), the nuptial chamber, and also the storehouse for valuables, especially the money-chest (*κιβωτός*). Thus the division of the dwelling-house recurs in the temple, the dwelling-house of the divinity, which in like manner consists of an antechamber, of the cella corresponding to the *αὐλή* with adjoining hall, and of the back-premises (*ὀπισθόδομος*) that serve as a treasury.

While this simple type of house is especially represented by the dwelling-houses of Priene (fourth and third centuries B.C.), those of Delos show a later form, in which columns find more abundant employment, and thus the court surrounded by them develops into a complete peristyle (p. 230).

In many cases a portable cooking-apparatus took the place of the kitchen.

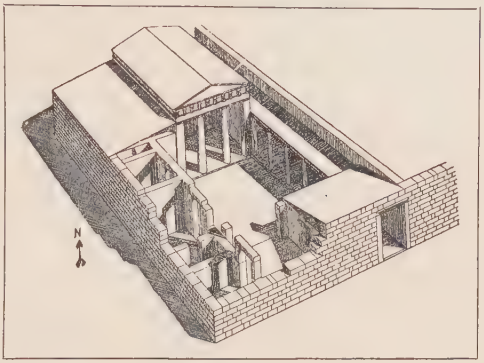


FIG. 103. RECONSTRUCTION OF A 'PROSTAS' HOUSE IN PRIENE

All the rooms are grouped round the paved inner court. The chief apartment is open by a colonnade (*prostas*) to the light and the sun; it served as a living- and eating-room.

From Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, Fig. 299.

In particular, such newly constructed ports as the Piraeus allowed the further enlargement of dwelling-houses, and for the Hellenistic period even double houses may have been fairly common; in these there was a more marked difference than in older times between the gynaeconitis, the quarters intended for women and children, and the andronitis, those allotted to men. The latter often exhibit reception-rooms ornamented with columns and splendid dining-halls.

But the chief beauty of the rooms of the Greek house consisted in the decoration, frequently very tasteful notwithstanding all its simplicity (p. 226).

After the end of the fourth century there is evidence of lodging-houses (or flats, *συνοικίαι*) in Delos, the revenues of which flowed into the temple treasury.

About the *royal palaces* of this period little is known; perhaps here also luxury was not excessive, in any case scarcely to be compared with that of the Neronian period.

A pleasing influence of the Persian East at that time was the increase in the number of *parks*, which were not only attached to the royal palaces, but also, like the charming Daphnae near Antioch, already appear as a place of recreation for the cities of the world.

ROMAN. The oldest dwelling-house of the Roman, corresponding to the old Italian peasant's house, also consisted of a *round hut*, with a pointed straw roof made fast by ribs. Constructed of clay, brushwood, and reeds, it received its light through the main door and a small dormer-window beneath the roof.

In its division the *old Italian house* corresponded throughout with the

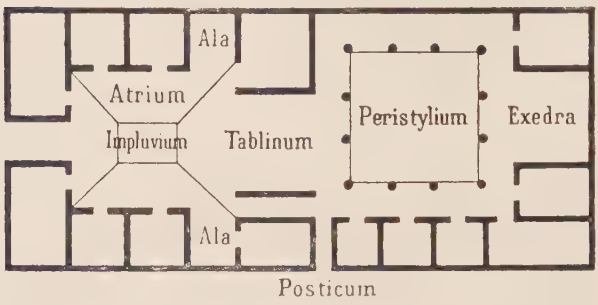


FIG. 104. NORMAL POMPEIAN HOUSE
The Greek peristyle is attached to the Italian atrium-house.

Greek (p. 228). In its further development, as we learn especially from Pompeii, the increasing influence of Hellenism asserts itself.

Poor houses which do not even show a room completely adapted for the entire family, as well as dwellings which speculators let out in several-storied lodging-houses, or even little rooms above or behind modest retail shops, were common enough, especially in the capital. On the other hand, a simple house sometimes did not appear enough for rich people, who planned double sets of house-rooms, or even more.

The *normal Roman house* in classical times was entered through the *vestibulum*, an open space lying before the entrance proper (*ostium*), which in the case of distinguished inhabitants in older times received the clients who came to offer their morning greeting (*salutatio*).

A porter conducted the visitor through a passage (*fauces*), in which was his room, into the *atrium*, the chief room, originally roofed over, which under Hellenistic influence soon had a rather large opening in the centre (*compluvium*) with a corresponding cistern (*impluvium*) in the floor.

This large general room of the family became among the wealthy Romans the state-room, in which they held their receptions (p. 242). Here were placed not only the gods of the family, the *lares*, occasionally in a special chapel (*lararium*), but also the cupboard containing the wax masks of the ancestors. In the case of distinguished families attached to wooden busts and relegated to the wings (*alae*), which were open recesses adjoining the atrium on both sides, they formed an imposing gallery of ancestors. Ancestral trophies, their images in statues or reliefs, also found a place here, as well as the chest (*arca*) for money and valuables.

The *tablinum*, lying behind the atrium, only separated off from it, if at all, by curtains, in distinguished families becomes the room of the master of the house, in which he keeps the family records and archives.

The Southerner's fondness for living in the open air under the influence of Hellenism led to the addition in the rear of a court surrounded by columns which permanently kept its Greek name *peristylium*. As it formed the centre of the family circle it was reached, passing the tablinum, by one or two lateral passages (*fauces*). Although the peristyle was also commonly decorated with marble and bronze statuettes and all kinds of artistic trifles, flower-beds and fountains still preserved its character as a garden. Nevertheless, a special garden (*hortus*) was occasionally annexed to it.

A special dining-hall for visitors, the *exedra*, not infrequently adjoined the peristyle; above all, in first-class houses various eating-rooms were connected with it. In times of luxurious living there were even summer and winter *triclinia* (p. 243) arranged according

to position, and splendid saloons (*oeci*); kitchen and store-room gradually increased in importance. The small bedrooms surrounded the atrium and peristyle; round the former were the modest rooms for the servants. The intellectual needs of the occupiers were satisfied by libraries, sometimes also by picture-galleries (*pinacothecae*). Hygienic arrangements were provided for frequently by baths in the house, occasionally even by special gymnasia, whereas sewage arrangements were unsatisfactory; in many cases there were merely cesspools.

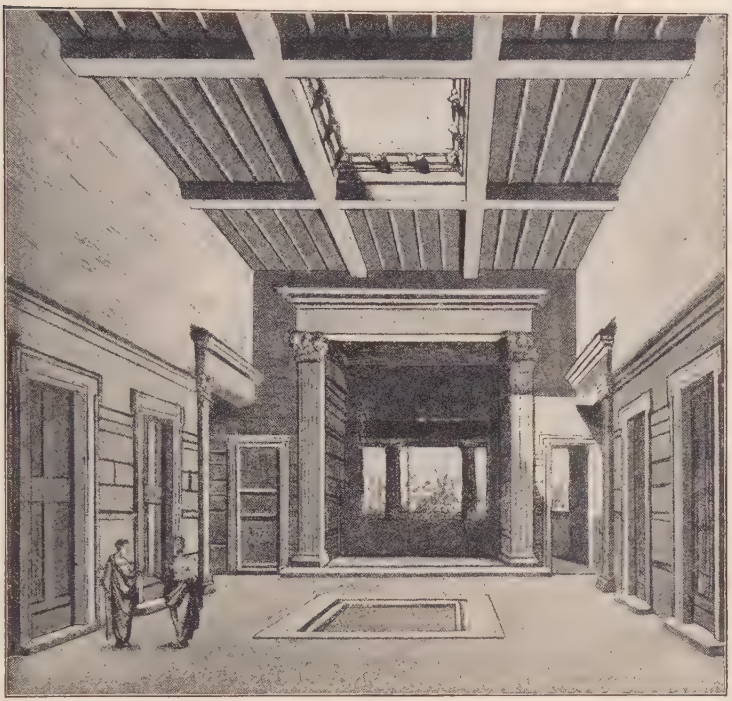


FIG. 105. TUSCAN ATRIUM OF THE FIRST STYLE: THE CASA DI SALLUSTIO, POMPEII

Light, warmth, and rain penetrate through the compluvium in the roof, to which the impluvium in the floor corresponds. The walls are ornamented with square stones (ashlar work) and cornices of marbled stucco. The 'first' or 'incrustation' style (second century B.C.).

Restoration after Mau, *Pompeii*, Fig. 152.

Although the Roman houses were essentially buildings in which only the interior was considered, so that an ancient street compared with a modern one in general produces a monotonous impression (p. 226), yet the upper stories with their windows, balconies, and projections did not lack systematic arrangement, as is especially shown by new finds in Ostia and Pompeii. On the side facing the street the houses were enlivened above all by the public shops, which certainly afforded the eye no tasteless shop-window ostentation, but the lively, bustling life of the Southern artisan.

By the side of the town-house the country-house (*villa*) becomes more and more important for the distinguished Roman. The original farmhouse with its agricultural occupations changes into a place of relaxation—indeed, of luxurious enjoyment. In the last century of the Roman Republic men like Lucullus and Cicero already had their villas (Tusculanum, Formianum). But the most brilliant example of Imperial splendour was certainly the *Villa Hadriana*, four times as large as the Palatine, the remains of which still excite our admiration.

In regard to land and mountains, rivers and lakes, these country-houses were constructed above all with a wide outlook, especially on the sea. The sociably comfortable

FIG. 106. LADY OF DISTINCTION
Compare her attitude with that of the seated Greek lady in Fig. 92.
Rome, Museo Torlonia. From *Monumenti del Instituto*, xi, Plate 11.

character of such a country-seat already showed itself in the fact that the visitor first entered a peristyle, while the atrium, if there was one, was relegated to a more distant part of the building. Intended for generous, even luxurious enjoyment, everything here was more extensive —dining-rooms, bath-rooms, porticoes, and gymnasia, frequently also the collections of books and pictures. The adjoining gardens, with their great main avenue, ponds, and fountains, as well as choice trees and flowers, served for enjoyment and for the delight of the eye. In their arrangement they sometimes showed the stiff taste of the French *rococo* in the geometrical lines of the plan, with the clipped foliage and the green artistically trimmed to represent figures.

(*B*) HOUSE FURNITURE

Among both Greeks and Romans the *arrangement of the dwelling-house* is limited to what is most necessary, and there is no furniture which exists only for ornament. It is not until after the Hellenistic period that not only are the articles of furniture that serve practical purposes set up full of effect, but beautiful statuettes, especially of bronze, are also added, in order finally to attain a highly perfect art of interior decoration. But, above all, the development consists in the change of material; in house furniture bronze now more commonly takes the place of wood, in tableware silver that of clay.

Instead of modern chests of drawers and cupboards, which only to some extent came into more frequent use in Roman times, trunks and chests, arranged along the walls as affording convenient seats, were employed. This want, however, was above all supplied by the bench that ran round the wall, covered with cushions after the manner of an Oriental divan. Completely incorporated into the architectonic whole, it was often provided for in the structural plan.

Of the three chief Greek forms of *seats* (*cf.* Fig. 15), the heavy *θρόνος* (with straight back and arms) with its angular forms in course of time lost favour, while, together with

the *δίφρος* (without back or arms), the beautifully curved *κλισμός* (easy chair without arms) with its rounded forms (Fig. 106) enjoyed especial popularity. Among the Romans also we find the single seat (*sella*) in the form of the thronelike seat of honour for the master of the house (*solium*), the comfortable stool with a back (*cathedra*) as well as without, the double seat (*bisellium*), and the larger bench (*subsellium*).

The most important piece of Greek furniture is the *κλίνη* (bedstead), which especially in Hellenistic times undergoes an artistic elaboration with its turned legs and varied ornamentation. This four-footed bedstead, provided with girths, mattresses, and pillows, resembling a *chaise longue* or sofa, is also used at meal-times from the time when it became usual to recline on such occasions after the Oriental fashion. As a sleeping-place it replaces the old Homeric bed-arrangements, which, as far as we may conjecture, corresponded more to modern conditions. The high *lectus* of the Romans in essentials corresponded to the Greek *κλίνη*. It served, although in different form, both for a bed and for a sofa, to rest upon during the day, for taking meals and studying, and lastly as a bed of state for the dead. As was already the case among the Greeks of the Hellenistic period, costly woods, tortoiseshell, ivory, even precious metals, were employed. Girths supported the mattresses stuffed with straw or dried reeds, wool, or feathers, over which embroidered purple coverlets were often spread.

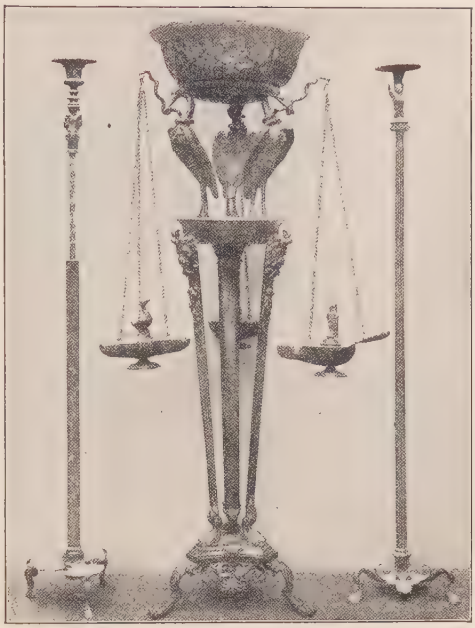


FIG. 107. CANDELABRUM AND LAMPS
Naples. From a photograph. Modern grouping by Sommer.

Tables, in ancient times hardly ever used except to hold vessels necessary for meals, were lower than our own, as they had to be adapted to the height of the *κλίνη*. Better known from Hellenistic-Roman times, they later became an object on which the owners were especially fond of indulging their luxurious taste. Some exhibited, over a foot of bronze, sometimes even of ivory, round slabs of marble or costly wood—the most costly from the fabulously expensive fragrant citrus-wood ; others were square, like the abacus, which was specially used as a sideboard, on which the most valuable vessels were set out for show at a banquet.

The resinous firwood torches already known to Homer, and in particular the *φανοί*, wooden staves soaked in oil and tied close together by a metal casing and bands, which could also be converted into standing candlesticks by lengthening the foot, provided for *lighting* among the Greeks. Gradually the use of oil in the lamp introduced the most important kind of ancient lighting.

Although the *lamp* goes back in its beginnings to the Mycenaean period it does not in reality receive its usual form until the beginning of the Hellenistic period. In various

FIG. 108. DIONYSUS AND MAENADS: NECK-AMPHORA OF THE POTTER AMASIS

Each part of the clearly articulated vessel (neck, shoulder, belly, and foot) has its own ornament. In his right hand Dionysus holds a two-handled cantharus; the Maenads hold vine-branches and a small animal.

Paris. From E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (English trans. by G. C. Richards, 1921).

shapes—*e.g.*, in the form of animals and heads—adorned with the most different kinds of figures, it is one of the most widely used vessels, especially in Roman times. The tallow or wax candle is perhaps derived from the Etruscans. The artistically shaped candelabra (Fig. 107), on which lamps can be hung in larger numbers, serve to carry lamps or candles. But it is clear that the method of lighting in ancient times, as that in the Middle Ages, must in any case be considered quite inadequate in comparison with our own.

By the side of lighting, *heating* arrangements first attain greater completeness in Roman times. Besides the *braziers* at the present day common in the South, *fireplaces* were only rarely used, but after the beginning of the last century B.C. a well-conceived hot-air heating apparatus comes into fashion, originally for bath-rooms, at first for heating the floor, and then also the walls of the rooms (*hypocaustum*), which in many respects reminds us of the modern central and distant heating (p. 165).

The *vessel*, in the shapes of which the Romans are entirely dependent upon the Greeks, even if they do not make any use of Greek manufacture itself, exhibits a great abundance of forms in antiquity; most of the types are already fixed in ancient times, and it is only by degrees that the simple material, clay, is ennobled by the finest technique, or is itself replaced by metal, especially

silver. The Roman in Imperial times shows something new—above all on the technical side—in the employment of the splendid *terra sigillata*, which is also well adapted for relief ornament, and of glass, which especially in the *vasa murrina* exhibits wonderful fusion of varied colours.

The largest *storing vessel* for keeping wine, honey, oil, and water, the earthenware tub called *dolium* (πίθος), known from ancient times especially by Cretan finds (p. 149), was occasionally so large that it could even serve as a place for a man to live in, as the example of Diogenes the Cynic teaches us. The Homeric amphora (Fig. 108), the two-handled jar, also remained in use during all times in the ancient world. The only difference is that, especially among the Greeks, it is frequently adorned with painting, while it is used by the Romans especially in the typical, tasteless form with pointed base, since it is intended to be let into the sandy ground. The bulky ὑδρία (water-jug) also and the bottle-shaped oil-vessel (λήκυθος) receive in essentials their typical forms in early times. By the side of the vessels for storing are those for drawing and holding liquids, above all the *mixing-bowl* (κρατήρ; Fig. 91), which was required by the ancient custom of adding water to wine. Of *drinking-vessels* there are flat bowls resembling saucers, without handles, as the φιάλη (*patera*), or with handle and base, as the κύλιξ (*cylix*; Fig. 114); at a drinking-bout most use was made of the deeper beakers, the cup-shaped forms of the larger one-handled κύαθος and the two-handled σκύφος, or the tankard with considerably curved handles (κάνθαρος; Fig. 108). Of beautiful, varied formation is the drinking-horn (ῥυτόν), which made it possible to drop the wine into the mouth from a small opening.

(*C*) CLOTHING

Greek. With the victories over the barbarians the Greek dress overcomes the stiff Oriental ostentation in order to attain the free beauty of the Hellenic arrangement of the drapery. Not until after the time of Alexander the Great does greater luxury, especially in the women's dress, assert itself under the influence of the East.

Men at first wore the Ionic dress derived from the East, which consisted of the under-garment (χιτών) without girdle, as a rule made of linen, and the over-garment (χλαῖνα), that fell down to a considerable length. Yet even before the Persian wars the characteristic change in the men's dress began. The chiton has now wide sleeves reaching to the elbows. The long chiton only remains as the dress of priests, cithara- and flute-players, and charioteers; over the short one is an oblong piece of drapery, designated generally as 'garment' (ἱμάτιον; see Fig. 10), which envelops the entire form without fastening. In addition to these the oblong cloak (χλαμύς; Fig. 110), which as a riding-dress and as the costume of the nobility in many cases is got up in expensive style, but is also worn by soldiers and hunters, and above all by the ephebi, is in use. The ἐξωμίς, on the other hand, the woollen garment fastened on the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and the arms free, is the costume of the workman. After the Persian wars the last remnant of the old Ionic ostentation disappears; wool again takes the place of linen. Where the chiton does not fall entirely into disuse the close-fitting Doric form, reaching only as far as the knees and girt over the hips, is chosen (Fig. 110).

FIG. 109. ATLAS BRINGING HERACLES THE APPLES OF THE HESPERIDES: METOPE FROM THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

Heracles carries on the back of his neck the vault of heaven, which is no longer visible. A cushion underneath and the simply represented Athene help to make the burden easier to bear.

From *Olympia: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, iii.

In the *women's costume* also the linen chiton (Fig. 109) at first takes the place of Homer's woollen peplos. A wrap, which either falls down over the back from the hind part of the head like a veil, or is thrown over the neck and shoulder like a shawl, completes the women's dress.

Even after the Persian wars, however, it preserves a certain gaiety of colour, and the chiton exhibits great variety. In a most effective manner it was a common practice to draw the dress above the girdle and to allow it to fall as a bellying fold round the body. The Hellenistic period shows more refinement and greater luxury. The drapery is girt close under the breast or tight over the hips. Cotton and silk are employed, as well as embroidery and woven work in gold and various colours.

Men at first appear to have worn their *hair* in a manner little altered from Homeric times; it is still stiffly confined in the plaits, artificially arranged round the head, which have taken the place of the regular curls. Until the

fifth century the hair was worn uncut; later, especially among the Athenians, it was tastefully shortened; only the Spartans still allowed it to grow long. The full beard also was generally kept at a moderate length, until after the time of Alexander the Great it became usual not to wear a beard at all. As early as the sixth century women gave up the old stiff custom and allowed their hair to fall down long, in order to arrange it over the forehead under a simple band in regular undulations over the ear. From the time of the Persian wars their coiffure shows great variety, but with it a fine sense of the natural. Bands, tiaras, cloths, nets, complete the tiring of the head. But its most beautiful ornament in both sexes was the natural *wreath*, which was worn not only at play and festival, at wedding and banquet, at sacrifice and in death, but also by officials and orators, and, as time went on, made of precious metal, was with increasing frequency bestowed upon deserving citizens as an honorary distinction.

FIG. 110. ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

The relief is no doubt the memorial of a successful tragedy (for an explanation of the scene see p. 189). Orpheus wears a chiton, a chlamys fastened on the right shoulder, and on his head a foxskin cap. Eurydice is dressed in the Doric peplos, which is fastened together on her shoulders and falls over as far as the waist; on her head she has placed a veil-cloth. Hermes, like Orpheus, wears chiton and chlamys; the broad-brimmed travelling-hat (*πέτασος*) hangs down over the back of his neck.

Rome, Villa Albani. From Petersen, *Vom alten Rom.*

The forms of the *hat*—which as a rule was considered unnecessary in spite of the Southern sun—worn by workmen and travellers, lasted unaltered from ancient times. To these belong the round cap (*κυνῆ*; Fig. 110), originally made of skin, the pointed, conical cap (*πῖλος*), and the flat felt hat (*πέτασος*), originally from Thessaly, a favourite covering of young men on horseback (Figs. 65 and 110). Among women, after the time of Alexander the Great, the broad-brimmed hat of plaited work with pointed crown took the place of the trim, coquettish hats of the classical period. However, at all times they were commonly in the habit of protecting themselves against the sun with nothing more than the veil-cloth drawn up over the head.

Together with the widely used sandals very different forms of *boots and shoes* occur. The fashion in this case was evidently very changeable according to race and rank, and especially in Hellenistic times great luxury prevailed in this branch of attire.

In the use of *ornament* the Hellenic world more and more breaks away from Oriental tradition. From the earliest times the only gold ornament worn by men was the *finger-ring*, the sign of the free man. As it was chiefly used as a seal, less value attached to the setting than to the treatment of the semi-precious stone used as a seal-stone (intaglio).

FIG. 111. STATUE OF A ROMAN WEARING THE TOGA

He is no doubt holding in his hands the waxen busts (*imagines*) of his ancestors, which are kept in the atrium and carried with him on solemn occasions (*cf.* p. 230).

Rome, Palazzo Barberini. From a photograph.

FIG. 112. STATUE OF A ROMAN LADY (? JULIA, DAUGHTER OF TITUS)

Found together with a statue of Titus. The three garments (*tunica*, *stola*, *palla*) can be clearly distinguished.

Rome, Vatican. From a photograph.

In the working of these semi-precious stones, especially the sardonyx, the Hellenistic period attained a wonderful technique (p. 214), whether they were used in signet rings or carved in relief as cameos (see Fig. 35).

The *women's gold ornaments*, consisting of bracelets, necklaces, and earrings, sometimes also of rings on the ankles, in classical times increasingly show the transition from the heaviness and clumsiness of Oriental models to simplicity and neatness.

A man frequently carried a *stick* : the long stick with a crutched handle, on which he knew how to lean gracefully while standing still, and the even longer staff adorned with a knob or flower—the old Homeric attribute of ambassadors, heralds, and speakers in the public assembly—which was also often represented in the hands of the gods. The women carried *sunshades* and *fans*, and were fond of manipulating the round metal *hand-*

mirror. The frequently used *cosmetics*, such as white lead and red minium for the face and black for the eyebrows, were of Oriental origin; in Hellenistic times false hair was an adjunct to these.

ROMAN. Strict symmetry and absolutely regular adjustment is characteristic of Roman costume. The Roman, like the Greek, has two kinds of garments, upper and under. The *material* is at all times the uncoloured woollen fabric, and it is not until toward the end of the Republic that linen or even silk makes its appearance, as well as the partiality for gay-coloured clothes and purple dresses, a feature which becomes more and more pronounced in Imperial times.

The man's under-garment, which was sufficient clothing for him at home, is the *tunica*, a shirt, having either no sleeves or only short ones, girded up over the hip and in the case of knights and senators distinguished by narrow or broad purple stripes respectively. In public the Roman always wore the upper garment, the *toga*, which became the national robe of honour.

FIG. 113. SOUTH FRIEZE OF THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

In a long, measured procession the Imperial family move toward the approach to the altar. The figures nearest the spectator are brought into prominence by higher relief as compared with those in low relief in the background.

Florence. After Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Plate 6.

For mourners the colour of the toga was black; for candidates for office specially 'whitened' (*toga candida*, whence *candidatus*); for generals celebrating a triumph purple with rich golden embroidery; but as a rule it was of a simple white colour, and as *praetexta*, adorned with a purple 'hem,' was used by boys and high officials. It consisted of an elliptically cut piece of woollen stuff about five yards long by four wide, which could be most artistically draped in various ways. The *trabea*, worn by several religious functionaries, but above all by the knights, was not essentially different. After the first century B.C. the toga already begins to give place to the more comfortable *pallium*,

resembling the Greek himation. On a journey cloaks like the *paenula* were worn over the toga, especially as a protection against the dust. Workmen and common people often wrapped themselves in a cloak, which, like the military dress, bore the name *sagum*. Trousers, borrowed from the barbarians, do not come into fashion until late Imperial times, especially among the military. Instead of the *hat*, which was worn only at work and on a journey, a hood (*cucullus*), attached to a cape, was considered sufficient. Part of the full dress of the Roman clad in the toga was the high *shoe*, which in the case of senators and knights showed special ornament; indoors, with the tunica sandals were worn, in war also boots. The Roman does not carry a *stick*, but wears a *ring*, which was differently finished as a signet ring or as a special mark of rank.

The dress of the Roman *woman* also was originally similar to that of the man. But soon three garments took the place of two. The women's tunic reached to the ankles; over it fitted the girded *stola*, falling down to the ground in many folds, a kind of short-sleeved or even sleeveless chiton; the upper garment, the *palla*, was arranged round the body like a toga, and was often drawn up over the back of the head. Besides these, there were special veils. Shoes or sandals, fan and sunshade, as well as ornaments of precious metals with precious stones and pearls, completed the toilette.

After the third century A.D. the longer *dalmatica* with sleeves, under which was worn a close-fitting shirt, usually took the place of the tunica in both sexes.

The Roman originally wore the *hair of his head and beard* long, but after the third century B.C. it became the custom for middle-aged men to cut it short or to shave. But from the time of Hadrian to Constantine the full beard was again worn.

The artificial coiffure of the woman at one time prefers a tuft of hair, at another plaits, also curls (Fig. 85), in Imperial times frequently a towerlike structure (Fig. 112). Fair hair, which it was attempted to produce also by artificial means, was highly prized, or, especially in Imperial times, worn as a wig. False eyebrows and artificial teeth were already in common use at that time.

(*D*) DAILY LIFE

GREEK. The *daily life* of the Greek, especially the Athenian, was often spent in busily doing nothing, unless he belonged to the working class or was engaged in political life (p. 282). The first hours of the morning were usually spent in conversation in the gymnasia or among friends, in the barber's shop or in the artisans' workshops. At the time of the 'full market' (*πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς*) the Greek often attended to the purchase of provisions for meals. The Hellenistic period brought an essential alteration of the mode of life for wider circles, when characteristic classes were formed with their typical limitations. Even in poetry officers, officials, advocates, physicians, *savants*, actors, singers, musicians, dancers, are objects of artistic elaboration.

In the *chief meals*, which were taken at late midday reclining on couches, a great simplicity is shown at first. Apart from Sparta's special (p. 281) legally regulated conditions, this simple custom, especially in the case of the ordinary man, everywhere prevails,

FIG. 114. DRINKING-BOUT (SYMPOSIUM): FROM A CUP IN THE STYLE OF BRYGUS
The men are reclining on the couches. One courtesan is playing the flutes, the other holds a cylix.
British Museum. From P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*.

The chief food consists of barley-cakes. In addition to this is vegetarian diet: pulse, cabbages, lettuces, leeks, and onions. Together with the fig, already attested for Homeric times, pomegranates and quinces from the East were favourite fruits, but, in consequence of the ennoblement of the olive-tree, oil especially became an important ingredient in the preparation of dishes, as it still is in the South. Meat is as a rule only eaten at a sacrificial feast. Also, in contrast to Homeric conditions, fish, shellfish, and birds are now preferred. More and more importance was attached to the selection of the article of food to be prepared (*e.g.*, fish). In *Hellenistic* times also, during which the cooks developed their frequently well-paid activity (p. 80), increasing luxury shows itself, even at the Courts of princes, rather in a refinement of the pleasures of the table than in wild revelry. Eastern spices drive out the simple silphium (p. 246), and by the side of the now popular spiced wine beer attains importance, at least for the Greek population of Egypt, where it had always been in use. A characteristic phenomenon of the time is the parasite (p. 80), the sponger, who perpetually dines at some one else's table, and in return has to put up with all manner of indignities.

Nearly everywhere the festal meal, at which custom forbade drinking, was followed by the drinking-party (*συμπόσιον*) in the last periods of the middle age of Greece, except in the strict Dorian states of Sparta and Crete.

After the meal proper was finished with a libation to the good spirit, the symposium was introduced by a second drink-offering in the cleaned, flower-decorated dining-room. Cheese, cakes sprinkled with salt, olives, figs, dates, almonds, melons, and other dishes to stimulate drinking were also brought on as dessert. In the drink served in the mixing-bowl (p. 235; *cf.* Fig. 91) water always predominated. A master of the revels (*συμποσιάρχης*), generally chosen by lot, determined the right mixture of the wine and the number and kind of goblets, and looked after the observance of the rules of drinking. Together with conversation, the solving of riddles, amoebaean songs, often of a political tenor (p. 39), games with dice, draughts, little tricks with the goblet and of other kinds,

also the game of *morra* still played in the South, served to amuse the garland-bedecked revellers. But in course of time the symposium degenerated, especially on the erotic side. Loose, offensive songs became common. Male and female jugglers with their acrobatic tricks, female sword-dancers and jesters, but above all female players on the flute and cithara, as well as dancers and, indeed, professional courtesans, were invited (Fig. 114). On the other hand, the symposium developed on the intellectual side. Extempore (p. 62) declamations and disputations full of spirit became common. With Plato's wonderful *Symposium* (p. 113) there begins a whole symposium-literature of a philosophical character.

The festal meal in antiquity also was of great importance, since the stranger was assigned to the hospitality of the private house. It is true, however, that *inns* early became necessary where great crowds of people flocked together, especially at Olympia, Delphi, and in Delos. These inns were often of a public kind; they are especially numerous in Egypt in Hellenistic times. Not until Roman Imperial times is a developed tavern business carried on on Greek civilized territory. These drinking-shops are throughout of a lower class and are frequently visited by slaves.

Slaves had at first quite a tolerable position, especially those born in the house; but those who for the first time became enslaved were mostly countrymen taken in war and were not numerous, owing to factory-work (p. 248) being as yet only carried on to a small extent.

In Hellenistic times the slave-markets, especially the great one at Delos, brought thither people belonging to foreign countries. Yet the number of slaves was not everywhere increased—indeed, it even diminished on the whole as a result of declining prosperity, especially in Athens. Even in industrial countries, as in Corinth and Egypt, free workmen predominate; in Alexandria alone were there larger masses of slaves, where, out of 500,000 inhabitants, the proportion of slaves to free men is assumed to be as two to three. Even in better establishments one to four servants are considered sufficient. The less common industrial slaves often hold a more independent position. They are allowed to carry on their craft for themselves, and the master settles accounts only with them; freedmen also often remain in their masters' house and continue to serve him.

ROMAN. The domestic life of the Roman of course was passed very differently according as a public or private person was concerned. In older times the citizen, so far as he did not lead the oppressed life of a proletarian, which was the same all the world over, still busied himself much with agriculture. Not only the increase of public business, but also the more vigorous advance of Hellenism in the second century B.C., with its tendency to greater luxury and idleness, brought about an alteration.

It was the custom to get up early in the morning, and to take breakfast (*ientaculum*), consisting of bread flavoured with salt, milk, fruits, cheese, and often a little wine. In the case of persons of consequence much time was taken up with the reception of clients (*salutatio*); they were also themselves obliged to pay many visits. Many betook themselves to the Senate or the law-courts as jurymen, prosecutors, defenders, advisers, or listeners (p. 307). The time was often spent in strolling about, during which porticoes, baths, temples, bookshops, but especially barbers' and doctors' shops, offered many

opportunities for conversation. At midday the second breakfast (*prandium*) was taken, which might consist of hot or cold dishes, meat and fish, bread, cheese, and fruit. This was followed by a short nap. After gymnastic exercises, including the favourite ball-game, a bath was taken, in older times chiefly in the Tiber, but soon also at home (p. 231). It was not until Imperial times that the brilliant life of the thermae (p. 165), the public baths, was fully developed. Here not only were cold, tepid, and warm baths taken in turn with fastidious nicety, but in the magnificent porticoes and halls there was abundant opportunity for conversation, sport, and games. Staying in inns, the original cook-shops (*popinae*) or taverns (*cauponae*), in Imperial times only afforded recreation of the lowest kind. For the upper classes of society intercourse with the Court was now an important affair. Besides the brilliant general reception on the first of January with its strict Court ceremonial there were two grades of admittance, and consequently two classes of Court order of rank. Many shared the Emperor's table, or accompanied him on a journey.

At the chief meal (*cena*) it was the custom to recline at table, after the manner of the Greeks and Etruscans ; later the women also, who had originally been entirely excluded from meals among the Romans, did the same. The children, if they took part in the meal, sat at a special table.

The arrangement of three sofas (*triclinium*, p. 233) in horseshoe form placed round the dining-table, on each of which three guests took places strictly according to etiquette, shows that nine was regarded as a maximum number for those who took part in the banquet ; not infrequently, however, several triclinia were set up in one room.

The ceremonious *cena*, as partaken of at weddings, funeral solemnities, and several feasts of the gods, especially the Saturnalia (p. 145), was divided into three parts. First, at least in later times, came the *hors d'œuvre*, cold appetizing dishes, such as eggs, salads, fish in piquant sauce, etc., in addition to *mulsum*, a mixture of wine and honey. The meal proper often consisted of three courses, sometimes even more. In addition wine was served. The meal finished with dessert, which consisted of pastry and fruit.

It is not until Imperial times that we can speak of real luxury as compared with modern conditions. Many incidents, such as the senseless destruction of valuables, dissolving pearls in wine, and roasting tame birds, must certainly be regarded as isolated phenomena. The larger number of dishes also is often to be explained by the fact that it enabled the guest to make a choice from the food brought on the table. In any case, it was from the Greeks and in consequence of flourishing trade that the Roman first learnt to appreciate rare delicacies and preparation of the viands.

In older times food consisted chiefly of a kind of porridge (*puls*) made of spelt or else of barley-meal, and cooked with salt. It was not until later that bread, especially wheaten, was at first baked in the house. In addition to cereals, in which millet was included, leguminous plants were of great importance. There were fresh vegetables without number, from artichokes and asparagus down to cabbages and turnips, lettuces, and many kinds of bulbous plants. In addition, there were mushrooms. Besides the numerous native potherbs and condiments, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and silphium (p. 241) were used. Among the various kinds of fruit the Romans were acquainted with apples, pears, plums, quinces, figs, pomegranates, dates, grapes, cherries, nuts, almonds, and chestnuts, but not as yet with the oranges and lemons so characteristic of modern Italy.

FIG. 115. MILL WORKED BY AN ASS: GRAVESTONE FROM OSTIA

The grain is ground to pieces between the double cone of the upper millstone and the grooved stone below; the basin underneath catches the meal.

Rome, Museo Chiaramonti.

Of animals for slaughter sheep, lambs, and goats, and above all the pig, also important for making sausages, were in chief favour, while the ox was at first only exceptionally killed; of game hares, deer, stags, boars, and dormice, which were fattened in special enclosures; of poultry the goose with its liver already prized as a titbit, further, all kinds of fowls, pigeons, the thrush still eaten in Italy, also guinea-fowl and pheasants, even peacocks, cranes, and storks. Numerous kinds of fish came on table, especially since the rich kept them in special ponds (*piscinae*), above all the favourite *muraena* (lamprey). Large smoking and salting houses provided cheap food for the people in the shape of smoked and salted fish, especially tunnyfish and the cheap mackerel that may be compared to our herring, and also fish-sauces for the tables of the rich. Of shellfish sea-urchins, snails, and oysters, specially cultivated after the first century A.D., may be mentioned. Lastly, allusion may be made to hen's eggs, employed in various ways, and the numerous kinds of cheese, whereas butter was only regarded as a medicine, since olive oil was employed in the preparation of foods.

These provisions could be bought not only in numerous shops scattered about the towns, but also in a special provision-market (*macellum*), if they were not brought into the house The slaves, and later also the cooks, took more interest in the *kitchen* than the housewife.

Milk, especially that of sheep and goats, was as a rule only valued in the country as a *drink*. Up to the beginning of the first century B.C. the Greek wines, first and foremost Chian and Lesbian, were preferred; then the fine native wines, such as Caecuban and Falernian, began to be highly appreciated, and Italian wine was exported. All kinds of spiced wine as well as fruit wines and mulsum (p. 243) were in request, whereas beer (p. 241) was never generally adopted in Italy.

In connexion with dessert there was sometimes a *drinking-bout* after the Greek fashion, with the corresponding (p. 241) regulations managed by a president (*arbiter bibendi*).

The beautiful custom that all those present should sing the praises of their ancestors to the accompaniment of the flute fell more and more out of use ; hired musicians, mimes, buffoons, and especially female singers and dancers made their appearance. *Games of dice* were a varied means of amusement : the more unobjectionable with the four foursided knucklebones (*tali*), the more dangerous with two or three sixsided dice (*tesserae*). The many kinds of games of draughts and morra (p. 242) were more harmless. The Imperial period furnishes luxurious excesses in the employment of troupes of female entertainers, as well as artistic performances of a musical and declamatory kind, farces and classical recitations, and even, after the Greek manner (p. 242), philosophical and other learned discussions.

In Rome, as in Greece, the working of public life was inconceivable without the assistance of *slaves*. Here also their number was at first small and their position tolerable. But toward the end of the Republic the wholesale agricultural and industrial trades, as well as the gladiatorial shows (p. 146) and increasing luxury, demanded large masses of slaves ; at the Imperial Court of later times especially their number reached a positively incredible figure. They were obtained in the course of the Roman wars, especially with Carthage, from the East, from Greece, and from Asia—indeed, many wars against harmless, uncivilized peoples were nothing but slave-hunts. Most slaves came from the East, the Syrians above all being considered hard workers. From the North came numbers of Gauls and Germans. The treatment of slaves, as may be imagined, varied greatly Slaves born in the house (*vernae*) held a privileged position.

In the houses of the wealthy there were many non-free persons in a position of authority : the chief overseers and those who looked after the cattle of the large landed proprietors, who were frequently assisted by a business manager in financial matters, and an administrator of property and estates. In a grand household there were also majordomos and readers, secretaries and physicians, *valets de chambre*, janitors, cooks and waiters at table, barbers and hairdressers ; in the street use was made of lackeys, litter-bearers, and nomenclators, the business of the latter being to draw the master's attention to the names of the persons whom it was desirable that he should greet. The great majority had a harder lot. The position of the slaves on the estate was often particularly bad ; they had to work in chains, and were penned together in dungeons at night, while the shepherds on the other hand might frequently lead an unrestricted predatory life.

Although the position of a slave was outwardly tolerable, and he was even permitted to acquire a certain amount of private property (*peculium*), yet on the whole he possessed no rights at all. In these circumstances it is easy to understand that Rome had to contend with serious slave-risings, particularly after the second century B.C., which led to dangerous wars, especially in Sicily, the country of *latifundia* (large estates), and in Lower Italy.

(*E*) ECONOMIC LIFE : HUSBANDRY, TRADE, AND INDUSTRY

GREEK. *Agriculture*, which had taken the place of the Homeric pasture-cultivation, was in many ways carried on in a very primitive fashion. Thus it was not until the fourth century that the three-fallow system came into

fashion. In view of the small productivity of the generally mountainous ground the efforts of the Greek communities to obtain an economic independence (*αὐτάρκεια*), which produces everything itself, necessarily diminished more and more when the population of the towns increased as trade and industry developed. Only Thessaly, and of the colonial territories Sicily in particular, had a surplus of grain, while Lower Italy also showed itself sufficiently productive. In like manner Sparta, although not without difficulties, was able to keep to her agricultural pursuits, which were carried on by the helots. But in many cases people were restricted to imports. In time even the cultivation of grain was not infrequently limited in consideration of commercial exchange, and agriculture became devoted more to the production of wine, oil, and wool as profitable objects of trade.

FIG. 116. COIN FROM ATHENS

A silver tetradrachm from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Obverse: head of Pallas Athene. Reverse: owl with olive-branch in a punched-in square.

From P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*.

Business industry was and is one of the most significant features of the Greek national character. The rise of Greek *trade*, which in Homer's time was still predominantly in the hands of the Phoenicians (p. 33), is most closely connected with the grand colonization of the world which began in the eighth century B.C., although in many instances other reasons also may have had a specially decisive influence. In any case its foundations at that time originated from a few important centres, which were prominent as great marts.

The inhabitants of the two most important commercial towns of European Greece at that time, the Euboean Eretrians and especially the Chalcidians (from whom the three-forked peninsula of Chalcidice with its crown of cities takes its name), spread toward the north of the Aegean Sea, the coasts of Thrace and Macedonia. "Rich" Corinth also, as it was already called, here founded its copy in the little town of Potidaea, situated on two seas. By the side of these Thasos, rich in gold, was colonized from Paros, and some Thracian towns from the islands on the coast of Asia Minor. The sea-routes, still so important at the present day, which led through the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Black Sea (which now receives the name of Euxine, 'the hospitable') to the inexhaustible granary of Southern Russia, were above all occupied by the Milesians with an unexampled wealth of colonies, which numbered at least ninety on the Black Sea alone. Some of these towns themselves in their turn became new important centres for the spread of colonization, especially Cyzicus on the Propontis and Sinope on the Black Sea. By the side of Miletus special mention may further be made of the little Dorian state of Megara, which sent out colonies to these districts, especially the Bosporus, founded Chalcedon and over against it Byzantion, later of so great importance. As toward the north, so the Milesians also extended their influence to Lower Italy and Sicily and toward the south, where, encouraged by Psammetichus, they founded Naucratis in Egypt and here worked in a close corporate union. The neighbouring Libyan plateau of Barca was also settled from Thera and under its kings in Cyrene developed a culture of its own, which owed its prosperity to the extensive trade in the aromatic plant silphium

(p. 241). Toward the west Chalcis, Corinth, and Megara in particular were founders of colonies. Among the most important towns of Sicily during the height of Greek prosperity, Syracuse, founded by Corinth in 734 B.C., acquired special importance; by the side of it was the "second eye of Sicily," Acragas (Agrigentum), settled from the Sicilian Gela, which itself derived its origin from Rhodes and Crete. But also the settlements of the Achaeans in Lower Italy (Magna Graecia), at first planted as agricultural colonies, acquired importance for trade—above all luxurious Sybaris, which before the end of the sixth century succumbed to the attack of the hostile Crotoniates and was annihilated. It was an isolated phenomenon that Sparta also took part in colonization and in 708 B.C. founded Tarentum, which in Hellenistic times was the first city in Lower Italy. Lastly, pushed farthest toward the west and hence of special importance for the development of European culture, there was Cyme (Cumae), the mother-city of Naples close by and of Massilia (Marseilles); the one introduced Greek trade and Greek culture to the Italian tribes, the other extended the commercial relations of the Hellenes to Northern Europe.

FIG. 117. COIN OF THE STAMP-CUTTER CIMON FROM SYRACUSE

A silver decadrachm from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Obverse: head of the spring nymph Arethusa, with dolphins playing round her. Reverse: four-in-hand chariot, toward which Nike is flying; underneath, signs of victory.

From P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*.

As the result of the vast Greek system of colonization, the Phoenicians, who had only established commercial centres, were gradually ousted from the Mediterranean—indeed, even from the world—especially as many of the colonies mentioned were cleverly planted at the extreme points of the caravan roads leading to the East and South. Thus in this case also Aryan-European culture gained the victory over the Semitic-Asiatic. The Greek world now becomes the medium for the introduction of every other culture to mankind.

Together with the colonies, cities of the motherland also acquire commercial importance, especially of course the colonizing places themselves: Chalcis and Eretria, the two cities of Euboea; Corinth, so favourably situated for acting as intermediary between East and West; Aegina; Megara; Corcyra, the daughter-city of Corinth; and Rhodes, whose prosperity was not destined to reach its greatest height until Hellenistic times; but above all, during the classical age, Athens was the first commercial power in Hellas, while Sparta actually hindered trade (p. 280).

The great Solon was a pioneer also in this branch of development when he replaced the Aeginetan currency by that of the island of Euboea, which represents the Asiatic gold-weight system transferred to silver. This made it possible for the Athenians to join the Corintho-Chalcidian branch of commerce, and it is easy to understand that, considering the growing political and commercial importance of Athens, the system adopted by this city soon obtained general currency in Hellas.

By the side of Athens soon only Corinth was still able to maintain its position, while among the Hellenes of the West Syracuse especially also became a prosperous commercial centre, although at first it was unable to compete with the dominating commercial power of the West, Semitic Carthage. In the third century Athens was forced to give way to Corinth, but rose again after the fall of the latter (146 B.C.) and the acquisition of Delos, until it was overthrown by Sulla (86 B.C.). Chalcis also in Hellenistic times still possessed a certain importance, since it acted as a commercial medium between Macedonia and Greece. The centre of gravity of trade, however, had been pushed toward the East by Alexander, and thus all the old emporia of the motherland were far outstripped by the foundation of Alexandria, still so important at the present day as a commercial city.

The Ptolemies so highly appreciated the importance of this chief mart of the world at that time that their general policy was determined with reference to trade, to the same extent as they misunderstood the agrarian importance of their country, and Augustus took all steps to raise to its old high position the industry that had lost ground under the mismanagement of the last Ptolemies.

By the side of Alexandria the chief cities of the other kingdoms of the Diadochi also developed into commercial centres: Seleucia on the Tigris, Cassandrea and Lysimachea in Macedonia; the Thessalian Demetrias; and especially Thessalonica (Salonika), still so important at the present day. But the flourishing mercantile republic of Rhodes acquires special importance; protected by an efficient navy, it was the medium of trade between Greece and the South until it was overthrown (47 B.C.) by Cassius, the murderer of Caesar. Similarly Delos, especially in the third century, formed a connecting link between the trade of East and West, and thus afforded numerous Italians a place of abode for business activities. All kinds of foreigners also took part in trade: metics (p. 282) in Athens, Egyptians and Syrians in Athens and Delos, who here, as elsewhere, readily combined in close associations.

Among *imported commodities* the grain, produced in quite insufficient quantities in many cases, especially in Athens, certainly takes the first place at all times; it was imported from Egypt and Sicily, but especially, as at the present day, from South Russia. To this may be added precious metals and ships' timber from Thrace and Macedonia, and in Hellenistic times especially spices, condiments, and other valuables from the East. As an equivalent agricultural produce above all was exported: wine, oil, and wool; and in addition to these an increasing amount of the productions of artistic handicraft; from Athens clay vessels, metal wares, and *objets de luxe*; in Corinth and Delos metal wares, as also in Miletus, besides productions of the loom; in Alexandria linen, papyrus, ointments, glass. But industry in general, owing to the comparatively small employment of slaves and the widespread dislike of 'banausic' (mechanical, ignoble) occupations, evidently lagged behind commercial pursuits.

In Hellenistic Egypt *banking* in particular was highly important, especially as money transactions had almost entirely taken the place of dealings in kind. State and private banks carried on business with their own and foreign money, thus initiating the modern banking system.

ROMAN. In the opinion of the Roman the *cultivation of the land* was directly combined with the idea of a sacred, solemn act, and in Rome the political development, from the time of the struggle between patricians and plebeians, was entirely and intimately connected with the agrarian question. But not even the great social idea of Tiberius Gracchus, to transform land outside Italy into peasant farms—*i.e.*, to carry on a colonization in the modern sense—could stop the decay of the peasantry. As the result of a disastrous piece of legislation, which forbade the senatorial order to engage in money transactions (p. 294), the spirit of enterprise among the nobles was directed to the cultivation of plantations worked by slaves; corn-growing no longer paid when enormous quantities of foreign grain were thoughtlessly imported from Sicily and Africa without protective duty; hence the cultivation of vegetables and fruit, of wine and oil, and above all of pasturage, which furnished the most important product of Italian husbandry, namely wool, came to be regarded as more lucrative. Thus there is something peculiarly tragic in the fact that a people the bent of whose mind lay entirely in the direction of the cultivation of its native soil, a people who by dint of their peasant class had victoriously overcome the world, became alienated from the task for which it was specially adapted.

Roman *commerce*, in the beginning of modest proportions, in the regal period extended at most as far as Sicily and only exported cattle and slaves, which were exchanged for metal wares, specially produced on Italian soil by Etruria, purple, linen, ivory, and groceries. The acquisition of the mastery over the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas caused an important advance in Roman commerce, which had previously made use of the Greek towns as agents; indeed, after the fall of Corinth and Carthage no one in the world was at first able to enter into competition with the commercial power of Rome. The equestrian order, who acquired a monopoly of trade and banking, gradually developed into a real moneyed aristocracy. Roman merchants had their settlements everywhere, since the great maritime trade centres played an important part, especially as emporia of the carrying trade. Excellent harbours were constructed, which carried trade in all parts of the Roman Empire far into the interior, even as far as East Africa and India. Light-houses also facilitated navigation. It is true that the Italian merchants of the Imperial period had to contend not only with a severe competition, especially from the East, that of Syrians and of Egyptians, but gradually also from the western and northern provinces. In this connexion it is significant that trade was essentially limited to imports. In the same manner the ruins of Ostia, the port of Rome, like those of Palmyra in the far East, testify to the importance of this branch of commerce.

Besides grain and slaves, everything which in the way of personal luxuries, condiments, clothing, household furniture, and articles of finery was specially suited to a wealthier mode of life was obtained through trade channels. Oil, wine, and iron were the chief exports; of the products of handicraft in particular wrought metal (Fig. 118), weapons,

FIG. 118. BEAKER FROM THE HILDESHEIM SILVER FIND

Found in 1868 with many other silver vessels at Hildesheim. The handles are now missing; the foot is certainly, as supplied, too low. The excellent stylization of the laurel-branches points to the time of Augustus as the date of origin.

Berlin. From E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Plate 9.

bronze objects, especially lamps, goldsmiths' works, clay and glass wares, and products of textile industry went from Italy to the provinces.

Generally speaking, *industry* found a more favourable soil in the Roman Empire than in Greece. Yet it is probable that as early as the end of the rule of the Etruscan kings in Rome quite definite *corporations* existed. During the flourishing period of Roman culture there were still large masses of slaves at the disposal of handicraft. Nevertheless, wholesale industry did not nearly approach modern conditions, especially as, even in the time of its greatest development, in the first century of the Empire, in many cases a close system of housekeeping prevailed, so that the great men of Rome employed their own craftsmen, taken from their slaves, in the production of all kinds of things in the departments of food and clothing. During the later Empire we find an extended household economy, which required the manufacture of industrial products for a wider circle of goods, and a great nationalization of handicraft, which finds expression in numerous monopolies, compulsory unions, and State workshops.

(*F*) THE FAMILY

GREEK. In the *position of the Greek woman*, so decisive in its influence on the family, there is seen a considerable change for the worse as compared with the Homeric period (p. 33). The Ionians especially showed themselves ready to accept in most cases the Oriental conception, which limited the woman altogether to the house.

Social intercourse between young women and men was almost entirely confined to religious festivals. The wives mostly spent their life in superintending domestic affairs, the education of the children, domestic duties, and (not least) with their toilette. As not only food was prepared, but clothing also made at home to a greater extent than among ourselves, domestic activity was considerable. Free women occupied themselves in the midst of their slaves with spinning and weaving. Ball-games and swinging, various games of draughts and music, also the care of domestic animals, especially the favourite geese, served for recreation.

Unfortunately, as the development of household affairs progressed the position of women only became worse. The lot of the inheriting daughter

(ἐπίκληρος), whom the next of kin himself might marry unasked or hand over to his son as a wife, only in order that the property might continue in the family, no doubt frequently turned out by no means a pleasant one. Divorce was easy for a man.

It is true that the unfavourable descriptions of Attic married life in Aristophanes (p. 50) are exaggerated, as may be gathered from a glance at the grave-reliefs (see Fig. 68), which often throw light upon the true inwardness of family relations. Women were held in greater respect among the so-called Aeolic stock, as is shown by the importance of Lesbian poetesses (p. 40), than among the Ionic. If the Spartan women, in consequence of their bringing up (p. 281), no doubt enjoyed a freer position, yet it was just they who in the course of time frequently fell into luxury and immorality; indeed, in Sparta, where the inheriting daughters could dispose of property as they liked by will, the beginnings of a dangerous government by women showed themselves, especially as here in the fourth century two-fifths of the entire landed property belonged to them.

In Hellenistic times the emancipation of women made great progress. If on the one hand in consequence of the cessation of vigorous political activity the man became less estranged from the house, on the other hand the women, especially in Asia Minor, came into possession of a considerable part of the total property of the citizens, with which in the course of further developments they not infrequently rendered good service for the public benefit by founding buildings and institutions for the education of youth and religious purposes, especially in Imperial times. The Hellenistic princesses, chiefly of Macedonian origin, attained great importance. However rapidly royal marriages were contracted and dissolved, and although a ruler occasionally for political reasons had more than one wife, yet it was these princesses who first made Court life brilliant; they appeared at banquets, carried on sport, encouraged learned men and poets, and caused themselves to be celebrated by them. Similarly, not only were honours now bestowed upon them in civil circles for State reasons, but also delicate attentions in social intercourse, such as kissing the hand. As the education of women was now more seriously encouraged (p. 256) they took part in literature and science; indeed, literature itself, it is true not altogether to its advantage, partly reckons upon female readers. Discussions of male and female philosophers, declamations of rhetoricians on marriage and domestic happiness, show the importance of the women's question.

Morality, certainly, can hardly have been elevated by the freer position of women. While in the times of Pericles among the courtesans an Aspasia enchanted the first men of the time not only by her beauty, but also by her talents, the class in Hellenistic times became more and more degraded.

With the *marriage contract* the carrying off of the bride (Fig. 119), of which only Spartan usages still remind us, and her purchase disappeared. The wedding ceremony also among the Greeks shows a beautiful blending of the religious and homely elements, in which poetry finds its place (p. 40).

Romans. Roman *family life* in old times was absolutely one of proverbial strictness. The paternal authority (*patria potestas*) of the head of the household (*paterfamilias*), who possessed the power of life and death over wife and child, as over the domestics, was unexampled. Even the man who held a high position in the State had to obey his father and remained dependent upon him, since he alone possessed real property and could settle legal matters. The position of the mother of the family (*cf.* p. 81) was likewise held in great

FIG. 119. BRINGING HOME THE BRIDE

From an Attic lutrophorus of the middle of the fifth century. The bridegroom is lifting the bride into the carriage, the horses of which are not shown. The column indicates the bridegroom's house, where his parents await the couple.

From Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*.

respect. Also, as time went on the Roman maintained a much greater independence as compared with the Greek woman.

She was not limited to one part of the house, nor excluded from free social intercourse. She received relatives and paid visits, shared meals inside and outside the house, at which she was only forbidden to drink wine, attended religious ceremonies, and could even appear before a court of law, and, indeed, with her husband's permission, go to the circus and theatre. Good manners only demanded that she should not go out unaccompanied. Certainly her chief task continued to be the management of the household, and especially the care of the education and instruction of the children.

But although the mother of the family was also greeted by the husband as mistress (*domina*) and her advice was asked in important decisions, although her birthday and the general festival of married women, the Matronalia (March 1), were solemnly celebrated, yet the Roman marriage was only a *mariage de convenance*, and there was little affection in it. Hence immorality and love of power soon increased in the case of the passionate Southern woman. Even after the Second Punic War love of dress, extravagance, and licentiousness got the upper hand, and as the married woman was now more and more accustomed to remain under paternal authority, as early as toward the end of the Republic divorces were widespread, especially in the higher social circles. To this was added aversion from married life, childlessness with its evil consequence, and legacy-hunting, which it was in vain attempted to remedy by legal enactments. In Imperial times the emancipation of woman

made still further progress, since in consequence of the now more usual free form of the marriage contract the woman, except for the dowry, kept her property.

Completely on an equality with the husband in social relations, the lady of distinction despised work in the house; song and dance took the place of spinning and weaving. Reclining at table, she now took part in the men's carousals, visited the circus, ribald exhibitions (p. 148), and the bloody gladiatorial combats (p. 146) among the men, and was fond of staying at luxurious fashionable bathing-places, such as the notorious Baiae. But notwithstanding the decline of general morality it is just in Imperial times that there is no lack of examples of noblest womanhood and heroic noble-mindedness; indeed, even in the sphere of great intellectual movements, in poetry and science, in philosophy and Christianity, women of the Imperial period played an important part.

Together with the decay of married propriety of conduct as early as Republican times prostitution more and more gained the upper hand, and it was almost worse to see how distinguished men, especially poets (pp. 91, 95), showed themselves in public with their mistresses, among whom married women were frequently to be found.

The conclusion of marriage as a legal institution was based upon a number of important preliminary conditions. Between both the parties who had decided upon marriage the conditions of right of marriage (*conubium*), formerly obtained by the plebeians after desperate struggles, were obliged to exist; the degree of relationship between them, which was nowhere asserted to so great an extent as among the Romans, became less a hindrance to marriage; and the consent of the parties concerned—*i.e.*, in old times the possessor of the *patria potestas*—was absolutely necessary. Love-matches were the more rare since the young women had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with young men, and their certainly not unconditionally binding betrothal often took place while they were still children.

Historical development accounts for the fact that the Roman recognized different forms of marriage. The wife passed under the authority of the husband by the solemn *confarreatio*, named from the cake of spelt (*far*) offered at the sacrifice, at which the pontifex maximus, the flamen of Jupiter, and ten witnesses were present; or by purchase (*coemptio*), the literal sense of which is still hinted at by the symbol of the balance; or by *usus*, according to which the marriage became permanent if the wife had lived for a whole year of her own free will in the husband's house. Lastly, there was a still freer form of marriage, by which the wife remained under the authority of her father and consequently could inherit also in his family.

(*G*) EDUCATION

Greek. The existence of children was absolutely necessary for the continuance of the small, isolated Greek communities, also for the preservation of the ancestral cult, and it was a sign of the decay of the Hellenic world when in Hellenistic times the number of children in the families decreased.

Boys and girls grew up together till they were six years old under female supervision. After that age in Sparta State *education* begins (p. 281); else-

FIG. 120. BOYS AT SCHOOL: FROM A DURIS VASE

On the left a boy is learning to play the lyre; in the centre the lad standing is repeating a poem from the papyrus roll; on the right sits the paedagogus, who has brought the children to the masters.

Berlin. From *Monumenti del Instituto*, ix.

where it is a private affair. In better families the boy is entrusted to the superintendence of the paedagogus (see Fig. 120), an older house-slave, whose duty it is, not to instruct him, but only to attend him constantly, as a rule until he is sixteen, and to initiate him into all the rules of good behaviour (*εὐκοσμία*). In old times *instruction* was surprisingly simple. Private teachers imparted it in grammar, music, and gymnastics. The 'grammar' taught by the grammatistae (teachers of letters) consisted of the elements of reading, writing (p. 17), and arithmetic. As poems were accompanied by playing on the lyre it was also highly important for education, while flute-playing was only practised for a short time in the fifth century in the instruction of the youth of Athens.

In spite of the value attached to music there were only few *musical instruments*. The *lyre*, a stringed instrument of which there were usually different forms, the national instrument proper of the Hellenes, had no bridge, and consequently could only be played with the fingers or a wooden, ivory, or metal plectrum. Of wind instruments there were the *flute* (*σύριγξ*), composed of a number of reeds of different length, the *clarinet* (*αὐλός*), tuned to bass notes, and the *trumpet* (*σάλπιγξ*), used by the military and at religious ceremonies, a metal tube increasing in diameter toward the lower opening.

The most important branch of the education of the young Greek was *bodily training*, and the manner in which the Hellenes systematically sought to attain a healthy condition of the inner man by a similar condition of the body distinguishes them from all the peoples of antiquity. But while the Dorians, particularly the Spartans, strove rather onesidedly to harden the body for war, the Ionians laid stress upon the harmonious development of body and

mind. In course of time the public *gymnasia* that served for free intercourse became more and more distinct from the *palaestrae*, which were exclusively intended for the instruction of youth and gymnastic exercises. By the side of the exercises necessary for the *agones* (p. 139) more cheerful games, such as ball-throwing, for which there were special instructors, were also practised.

But at the time of the Peloponnesian War an important change in the instruction of youth came in for the upper classes of society. The *Sophists* (pp. 62, 108), who, since they taught for money, represent the first paid professional class, laid special stress on the cultivation of oratory. Side by side they taught arithmetic and geometry, and instruction began to extend even to technical departments. There were instructors in tactical and strategical knowledge, and the art of using arms (ὁπλομαχία) was cultivated as one of the bodily exercises. On the other hand, the literary humanistic training started from Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, and other poets, who had already been read at school. Instruction thereby was not only extended to grammatical, philological, and many kinds of objective questions, but, above all, ethical teaching was connected with it ; for religious instruction did not exist. Even in the gymnasium, which originally was only intended for bodily exercises, philosophers now made their appearance, and in a free, unconstrained manner taught young men by lectures and conversations. Thus the names of the two most famous gymnasia of Athens (Academy and Lyceum) obtain their importance not only for ancient philosophy (pp. 111, 114), but also for educational matters at all times. The decay of morals, it is true, often degraded the gymnasium to the playground of idleness.

In *Hellenistic times* instruction entered still more deeply into the philosophical and scientific side, so that one can really speak of a university curriculum. The philosophical schools were not only visited by the followers of the trend of thought in question, but also were the means of introducing higher culture in general. This is especially true of the Peripatetics.

By the side of ' university ' instruction, which into late Roman times was specially assigned in Athens and Alexandria to the study of antiquity, the middle and elementary school now flourished more vigorously than before. The centre of the entire system of education was formed by the institution of the *ephebeia* (ἐφηβεία). It was primarily intended as a preparation for military service, significant of the conditions of the age. This is shown by the typical arrangements for this in Athens (p. 264).

Later, intellectual development was somewhat more promoted by the fact that the ephebi attended the grammatical, rhetorical, and philosophical schools. But gradually this arrangement, which entirely depended upon the State, as a rule assumes the character of an official association, in which the military side more and more gives way to sport, splendid feasts and processions, even to childish vanity. Especially in Asia Minor, where the ephebeia flourished into the third century A.D., it served to increase the brilliancy of external city life. Even those who had been ephors carried on their corporate sport as the " young," and even the " boys " in many places made their appearance as a close society.

FIG. 121. ATHENE WITH WRITING-TABLET: FROM AN ATTIC AMPHORA

The goddess is considering what she shall write with her stilus on the triptych, which can be fastened together with a string. Beginning of the fifth century.

Munich. From an unpublished drawing by K. Reichhold.

The most important changes in school instruction in the Hellenistic period are connected with the fact that after the third century A.D. the number of *State schools* increases, although in ancient times there was no compulsory education. The distinction between higher and lower schools is evidently in many cases uncertain. In any case, until late times the gymnasium formed the centre of all youthful training, and the gymnasiarch, with whose office was associated the more special one of superintendent of the boys (*παιδονόμος*), is one of the most important officials.

The generosity of Hellenistic princes or even of private individuals often equipped these gymnasia magnificently and provided them with all possible hygienic arrangements, especially baths, so that the gymnasium is now to be regarded as the most important type of building next to the temple (p. 162). The teachers, like other State officials, are frequently elected only for a year, often under genuinely democratic precautions, and differently paid, without there being any question of promotion. Among the teaching staff elementary and gymnastic teachers, cithara-players, fencing-masters, instructors in archery and javelin-throwing are occasionally mentioned. Among special branches of study, which were also tested, we find reading and calligraphy, singing, playing and singing to the cithara, musical notation for vocal and instrumental music, drawing, recitations from tragedies and comedies, and 'general education' (*πολυμαθία*). In addition to these there is sometimes mathematics, and also philosophical and rhetorical instruction, in connexion with which panegyrics and hortatory addresses corresponding to the spirit of the age make a great show (p. 72). The school records exhibit many parallels to modern conditions. School lists, at the head of which the school commissions and supervising officials are named, correspond to our annual reports. In addition there are class lists, from which sometimes the fact of the fixed places in class is shown, lists of prizewinners and associations of pupils, often lists of names on the walls enough to fill whole albums. Holidays, commemoration days, final examinations, and gymnastic tours into friendly neighbouring towns already existed at that time.

Also the *instruction of girls*, in general simpler, improved in Hellenistic times with the position of the woman and was now under the State board of control. Much importance was attached to the musical training of girls, since, like the boys, they often appeared in festal choruses. There is some evidence that both sexes were educated together.

ROMAN. The possession of children was of the highest importance for the Roman, with whom tradition had such weight. Hence especially in the old

noble families we find a great abundance of children, and, where there were no sons, adoption is of special importance.

The father of the family first ensured the life of the newly born child laid at his feet by taking it up. After a solemn ablution the girl was named on the eighth day after birth, the boy on the ninth. The children grew up under the mother's care in complete fellowship with the children of slaves. *Instruction* begins at the age of six, in old times given by the father to the boy, by the mother to the girl. As the object was to make the young man a useful citizen and good head of a family the father taught the son first and foremost to till the ground and to carry arms. Three kinds of schools were gradually formed, which relieved each other. After the fifth century B.C. there were schools accessible to all, but not State-controlled, in which an elementary teacher (*litterator*) instructed boys and girls in the rudiments for a small fee, if the parents did not have this done by a freedman in the house.

The children as a rule spent at least six hours in the forenoon in poorly furnished booths or even in the open street in the neighbourhood of the market. Discipline was evidently strict, corporal punishment was frequent, prizes are only rarely mentioned. Holidays were abundant, as teaching was suspended throughout the summer months, on numerous feast-days, and also at Christmas (Saturnalia) and Easter (Quinquatrus). There were also bodily exercises, but naturally not to the same extent as among the Greeks, as it was not to be thought of that free men should take part in the agon (p. 139). Running and jumping, later wrestling, boxing, javelin-throwing, and riding, were practised on the Campus Martius.

A modest training also sufficed for the *girls* in general. Besides elementary instruction they naturally busied themselves with 'female occupations,' spinning, weaving, and embroidery, also with music, playing the cithara, and singing and dancing in chorus and separately, while gymnastics was still entirely neglected.

As the history of the Tarentine War teaches, *Greek* was already understood by statesmen in the first half of the third century and spoken, although not without dialectal peculiarities (p. 77). This higher education was provided through the medium of the *grammaticus*, who at first gives instruction as a freedman in the house of distinguished persons, but after the middle of the second century also appears as the principal of a school of his own.

The centre of this instruction, whether it embraced Greek, Latin, or both, was formed by the poets. But it is significant that from old times the Law of the Twelve Tables was read and learnt by heart (pp. 76, 125). The reading of poetry by the teacher, which he was often obliged to dictate to his pupils owing to want of books, formed the starting-point of instruction. The poetical work was brought within reach of the pupil by him in accordance with form and contents. Yet not only was exercise in literary style aimed at as the immediate purpose of instruction, but also moral lessons. The pupil himself was obliged to learn by heart diligently, to reproduce what was read orally and in writing, and to compose other essays. The young man was commonly accompanied by a Greek slave, who by conversing with him improved his fluency in speaking Greek.

Not until *Imperial times* is the sphere of instruction enlarged by the addition of music and geometry. Knowledge of the law and readiness of speech, which

was necessary to a young man for appearing in public, were acquired by him from the teaching of his father or one of his friends, and also by being taken with him into the Forum. But after the first century A.D. there were *teachers of rhetoric* (*rhetores*), at first Greek, soon afterward Latin, the introduction of whom frequently met with opposition (p. 81). This branch of instruction attained high importance in Imperial times. Professors of Latin and Greek oratory filled the first and for a long time the only State-paid teaching posts. Prose—that is, the works of the orators and, indeed, the most rhetorically flavoured historians—formed the central point of such instruction (pp. 78, 89).

After the completion of his seventeenth year in Republican times the young man was declared of age. He then devoted himself to military service, often in the suite of a general (p. 272). He might also be attached to a distinguished statesman, in order to be introduced by him into public life; this was the only possible way of becoming acquainted with jurisprudence.

Eagerness for learning caused many distinguished Romans, often when they were still no longer young, to make themselves acquainted not only with the oratory of the Greeks, but also with their mental sciences, especially their philosophy. They either took Greeks into their houses or made journeys for purposes of study to places which may be regarded as really ancient 'universities'—in Republican times to Athens and Rhodes, under the Empire also to Marseilles (Massilia) and Milan (Mediolanum), later to Autun (Augustodunum), Bordeaux (Burdigala), and Trèves (Augusta Treverorum). In the Athenaeum at Rome, founded by Hadrian, educated persons of all classes in addition to students attended all kinds of lectures.

(*H*) BURIAL

Greek. Since in the case of *burial* religious ideas are above all authoritative, here in general a conservative character asserts itself. Together with the custom of burning the body, which had already made its way in Homeric times, the older usage of the interment of the unburnt body is again revived and remains general until a late period. The fulfilment of the 'traditional usages' was a specially holy duty. The remains of those who had fallen in a foreign country were buried in their native land, or at least, if they could not be obtained, empty tombs (*κενοτάφια*) were erected to their memory. At the laying out (*πρόθεσις*) of the dead (Fig. 122), into whose mouth an obol had been put, originally as an equivalent of his property,[1] paid female mourners in later times took an active part. In addition to wreaths friends also placed ribands of wool (*ταινίαι*) and oil-flasks (*λήκυθοι*) upon the gravestones.

In the *funeral proper* (*ἐκφορά*, carrying out) the corpse, uncovered, was carried through the city-gate to the sound of flute-playing and songs of mourning, attended by relatives and acquaintances in black garments, in order to be afterward buried or cremated. The remains of the ashes, quenched with

[1 The Greek often carried pieces of money in his mouth.—Tr.]

wine, were collected and put into an urn.

Burial-places differed much according to local conditions. Often extensive burial-grounds lined the roads outside the cities. The grave was covered with a cairn of stones, in the islands and especially in Asia Minor in many cases hewn out of rocks. In later times there existed detached monuments of an independent kind, the list of magnificent royal graves being opened by that of Mausolus (p. 161). But as a rule the old pre-Hellenic usage persisted—that of erecting over the remains of the dead the sepulchral mound, which was decorated with parsley, flowers, and ribands. It was the custom to plant elms and cypresses, as still to-day in the South, on the mound. In the seventh century B.C. the custom still existed in Athens of laying in the grave of the dead all kinds of household furniture, also golden ornaments in the form of wreaths; later unguent caskets (*λήκυθοι*) were offered to him. The *embellishment of the grave* in the course of time shows many changes.

FIG. 122. AMPHORA OF THE DIPYLON STYLE

In the main zone on the belly of the vessel a dead man on the bier is being lamented. There is little difference between men and women; the upper bodies of both are stylized in triangular form. The ornamental zones emphasize the tectonic effect of the large vessel. Meander bands and animal friezes predominate (*cf.* p. 211).

Athens. From a photograph.

From 600 B.C. gently tapering stone slabs (*στῆλαι*) are set up over the graves (see Fig. 68), which in after times acquire more and more importance for the history of art (p. 189). Later, graves are also covered with marble slabs, decorated with a monumentally executed lecythus of marble, a siren, the symbol of death, etc. After the beginning of the Hellenistic period there were still only three simple forms allowed as grave ornaments, and these persisted into Roman times: the round column, the flat tombstone, and the vessel-form. The magnificent marble sarcophagi of princes are an isolated phenomenon dating from the time of Alexander the Great (p. 194; Figs. 78 and 123).

FIG. 123. ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON

The coffin, chiselled from Pentelic marble, resembles the forms of a temple. The decoration of the socle is reminiscent of the ornamentation of the north portico of the Erechtheion at Athens. See also p. 194 and Fig. 78.

Constantinople. From Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Plate 25.

After solemn purification of the house, which was assumed to have been polluted by the corpse, meals in memory of the dead took place, eulogies being pronounced upon him and libations poured on the ground. Every year on his birthday he received a solemn offering; there were also monthly memorial days and an anniversary feast of "all souls" in Athens at the Anthesteria (festival of flowers). The classical period in Athens saw the imposing *funeral solemnities*, which took place during every year of war to commemorate those who had fallen in battle, in which famous orators—*e.g.*, Pericles (p. 59)—took part.

ROMAN. The Roman also considered it a sacred duty to bury the dead with due solemnity.

As soon as death had taken place the nearest relative closed the eyes of the dead and called him for the last time by his name. During the first stage of the ceremony the corpse, washed and anointed and clad in the toga, was laid out on the state-bed, the feet being turned toward the door, round about it the honorary crowns, that are intended to be taken to the grave. The sound of flutes and stringed instruments, and in earlier times also female mourners, was heard. The vestibule was decorated with branches of cypress and pitch-pine, the trees used at funeral obsequies.

The burial itself began with the *funeral procession*, so imposing in the case of distinguished families, which in earlier times took place by night, later in the forenoon,

when there was most life and bustle in the streets. Surrounded by his lictors, the master of the ceremonies (*designator*), who had to superintend the preparations for the whole ceremony, starting from the temple of the old Italian goddess Libitina, led the procession. Musicians, and in earlier times also mourning women, opened it; then came a company of actors, who represented scenes from the life of the deceased, and lastly, on high carriages, the procession of all his ancestors, represented by clients, later by actors wearing their wax masks (p. 230), and including all their insignia of office and lictors. Pieces of the booty gained by these ancestors, to keep in mind their notable deeds in life, incense intended for the dead, and gifts to place on the grave were often carried in the procession. At last came the dead man himself on his bed of state, accompanied by torches. Behind him walked the chief mourners in dark clothes, often also magistrates, senators, and relatives of the upper classes without their insignia, the men with the toga over their head, the women with dishevelled hair. In the Forum 'the representatives of the ancestors' sat down on curule chairs (p. 298), and a near relative, in the case of a public funeral a specially chosen senator, delivered a funeral oration in honour of the deceased (*laudatio funebris*).

In oldest times the corpse was disposed of by *interment*, as recent finds in the Forum show. But *cremation* early became the general custom.

The deceased and the couch on which he had been carried, together with a variety of gifts, were placed on the pyre and consumed by the fire, which a relative with averted face lighted by means of a torch, a last farewell being said three times. The ashes were extinguished with wine, enclosed in an urn, and deposited together with the bones in a sepulchral chamber above or below the ground. After the customary rites of purification a funeral feast opened and ended the nine days' mourning. The custom of honouring the deceased with funeral games, peculiar to distinguished families, is known from the performances of the plays of Terence. Relatives brought rich *offerings* to the dead on different occasions. The Feralia on February 21 was a general *festival of the dead*.

The *monuments* adorned with eulogistic sepulchral inscriptions (p. 77) were still erected in the sixth century B.C. inside the city, later only those of specially important persons. The poor were buried outside the Esquiline Gate; numerous graves are still to be seen, especially in the Via Appia, and before the Herculaneum Gate in Pompeii. These monuments have very different forms. There are round (p. 227) or rectangular stone columns (*cippi*), pillars in the form of altars, settees, pyramids, round towerlike buildings, and structures resembling temples with courts. At the end of the Republic the ashes of poorer people were often deposited in mass-graves, the so-called dovecots (*columbaria*), with their numerous niches above and beside one another. This cheaper mode of burial was especially popular with various societies for their members who belonged to a kind of burial-club. In Imperial times the number of ancient sarcophagi, often adorned with scenes from Greek mythology, increased together with the increasing practice of interment due to the influence of Christianity.

The funeral obsequies of a dead *Emperor* were conducted with especial magnificence.

His body was burnt in the Campus Martius on a wooden structure resembling a lighthouse, adorned with expensive spices and carpets. The most singular custom of the

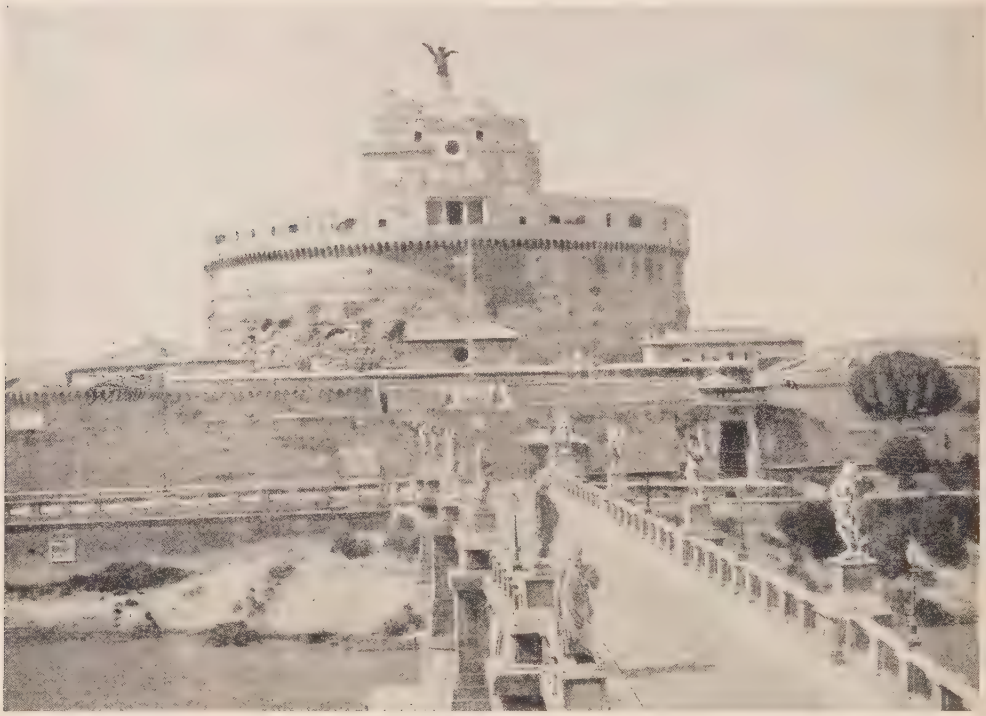


FIG. 124. TOMB OF HADRIAN (SANT' ANGELO) AND PONTE SANT' ANGELO, ROME

Only the lower part of the circular building is antique. When the archangel Michael appeared to Gregory the Great above the castle during a procession in the time of a plague he dedicated to the angel a chapel above.

From a photograph.

ceremony was that, when the flame blazed up, an eagle let loose from the top story soared into the air, in order to carry to heaven the soul of the dead Emperor, now elevated to the immortals. The imposing character of the sepulchral monuments of distinguished persons is shown in that of Caecilia Metella (p. 166) and the Imperial graves of Augustus and of Hadrian (p. 169), the latter being a stone colossus, whose massive bulk rendered easy its transformation into the citadel of Rome, the Castello di S. Angelo (Fig. 124).

VI. THE ARMY

(*A*) GREECE

THE *military system* in most and especially in the most important of the Greek states was already so far developed in the sixth century that all the subsequent alterations merely appear unimportant. It was a question of a *territorial army*, which was called upon to protect the State against external and sometimes against internal enemies. If, then, except in the case of Sparta, where the danger from the helots made it necessary, there existed only slight traces of a standing army, on the other hand the extension of the *period of service* shows what great claims the ancient state made upon its citizens. In Sparta and Athens citizens between twenty and sixty years of age were obliged to hold themselves ready for military service. In this connexion the fact that the entire body of effectives was not as a rule called up *en masse*, but only up to a certain strength, must no doubt be taken into consideration ; naturally the men of ten to fifteen years' service would be regarded as picked troops.

SPARTA. As the aim of the common education of the young Spartiates (p. 280) was in the main nothing but training for military service, the Spartan general levy differed from the territorial army of other Greek communities in that they were in a certain sense professional soldiers. In the *organization of the army* also Sparta formed an exception, in that it was entirely built up on the principle of comradeship. Corresponding to the syssitia (messes) there was formed the small band of sworn soldiers (ἐνωμοτία), normally some thirty strong ; four enomotiae united to form a pentecostys (πεντηκοστύς), sixteen to form a lochos (λόχος). After the battle of Mantineia a larger tactical unit came into being—the mora (μόρα) of four lochi, eight pentecostyes, and sixteen enomotiae. The *command*, which even among the Spartans, in spite of their stricter military discipline in this respect, was unable to develop the idea of a supreme authority, corresponded in its titles (enomotarchos, lochagos, pentecoster) to the respective divisions. The one of the two kings who took the field as commander-in-chief was assisted by officers called polemarchs (πολέμαρχοι). While originally the army consisted only of Spartiates, yet Sparta also at an early date found herself compelled at first to enrol free non-citizens (*perioeci*, περίοικοι) to keep up their ranks ; they could even become officers. Especially characteristic was the great stress laid upon the employment of music in battle and the circular encampment corresponding to an old custom of war.

ATHENS. In Athens a two years' *preparation* preceded military service

proper, the first year of which was devoted to training, the second to easy guard-duty in fortified places. This was the only service in time of peace to be compared with the time of active service or perhaps even more with the service of the German one year's volunteers. In the organization of the army the Athenians, like most of the Greek communities with the exception of Sparta, sought to connect it with the general community, so that the people of each tribe (*φύλη*) also continued together in the field under their chosen colonels (p. 287), and in the companies again those who belonged to the same district (*δῆμος*) were united. It is remarkable that it was actually in democratic Athens that Solon introduced a system of military service as horsemen, hoplites, or light-armed troops, graded according to property qualifications. But how little the Athenians understood the clearly defined idea of a military supreme authority is to be seen in the truly democratic conditions of pay. While the sum of two obols ($2\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day as the pay of the ordinary soldier and a like amount for maintenance corresponds to a certain extent with earlier modern conditions the commander of a *λόχος* (*λοχαγός*) only received twice, the chief commander (*στρατηγός*) four times, as much. It is true that the whole army, which was under the control of ten strategi and ten *ταξίαρχοι* (p. 287), at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War only consisted of 18,000 heavy-armed troops. In Athens the cavalry, which generally speaking did not exist in Sparta, first attained a certain importance. But it must be admitted that, however proud the Athenian was of his standing force of a thousand horsemen ready for service as often as he tested their and their horses' efficiency, the military importance, above all the mobility of the cavalry, was small. It took an especially prominent place in brilliant State-processions, as at the festival of the Panathenaea (p. 184 ; *cf.* Fig. 65).

In *military equipment* and manner of fighting we cannot point to any essential differences between the Greek states.

Chief importance was attached to the heavy-armed infantry, the *hoplites*. As compared with the Homeric period (p. 35) the only change in arms and armour chiefly consisted of an alteration in the weight of the weapons, due to the advance in the technique of metal-working. Even at this time the total equipment of the hoplite weighed about 80 pounds, so that on the march he was obliged to have a servant or slave, especially as, in addition to his equipment, he had to carry the bag for provisions.

Besides the cuirass, which was worn over the short woollen shirt, and the greaves, helmet and shield in particular form the characteristic articles of equipment. A special industry is occupied with the highly artistic embellishment of the shield ; it was furnished with special badges and devices, commonly connected with the individual character of the wearer. As offensive weapons the lance, about six or seven feet long, and the two-edged sword, straight and pointed, used more for thrusting than for cutting, and only about sixteen to eighteen inches long, were still in use.

A *lighter equipment*, to which the encounter with the light-armed Persians, equipped with the bow, must already have directed the attention of the Greeks,

only made its way gradually and side by side with the old armament of the hoplites. We can see these different classes of weapons for the first time in full employment in the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand, so vividly described by Xenophon (p. 61). The peltasts, equipped with sword, one or more javelins, and the light targe (πέλτη, small round shield), fought as a kind of light infantry. Besides these there were the light-armed troops proper, without shield or other defensive weapons. They comprise the special 'arms' of archers, slingers, and dart-throwers, with whom 'stone-throwers' also are occasionally mentioned. In classical times siege operations were almost entirely limited to constructing walls of investment round the town, which the besieged attempted to destroy by means of counter-walls brought up at right angles to these; 'artillery' was still little used. Nevertheless, the baggage-train of a heavy-armed force was from the beginning very large—indeed, at least equal in strength to the number of armed men. Especially in the case of warlike undertakings that seemed likely to be prolonged it was not only a question of taking provisions, chiefly grain, and those who made it ready for use, but also workmen, above all carpenters and smiths, are mentioned, whose special business it was to set up camps and construct field-works. The baggage-train further included signalmen, who gave the signal for battle with the large trumpet (σάλπιγξ) or with the curved horn for camp-service, and lastly the heralds, important not only for transmitting orders, but also for communication between the two hostile forces. It is significant, lastly, that we hear much more of soothsayers, who above all offered sacrifice before the contest began, than of physicians.

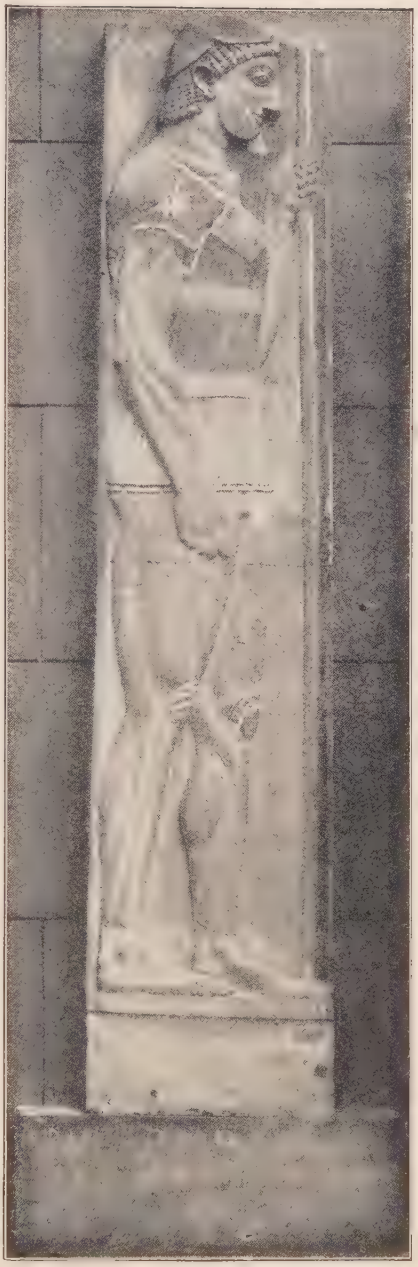


FIG. 125. GRAVE-STELE OF ARISTION, BY ARISTOCLES

The soles of both feet still stand flat on the ground. The eye faces the front, and is not reproduced in profile. The figure does not exhibit pronounced portrait features. Athens. From *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, Part VII.

[See p. 176.]

Warfare was for a long time still conducted from the old point of view.

In addition to searching for and overthrowing the hostile army its aim was still the devastation of the country in the manner of old heroic times. No question of real strategy is of any great importance. The marching performances, in spite of the unwieldiness of the Greek army, are by no means insignificant. A march of some twelve to twenty miles, with an interval for breakfast taken about midday, corresponds to the usual modern requirements. The highly developed Roman art of laying out a camp was unknown to the Greeks. If they did not remain in towns they selected a place that was above all fortified by natural position for the tents, which were often only secured by guards and outposts. During the night, which was divided into four watches, watchfires were burnt. Among the democratic Greeks a place of assembly was not wanting, and in the market-place before the camp a lively traffic developed during the midday hours, when the soldier bought provisions with his pay from the inhabitants of the country.

The *battle* itself was decided by the Greeks by means of a completely unbroken straight line of battle (φάλαγξ), with a regular depth of eight men. The light infantry had its place outside this unbroken line, in front, in the rear of, or by the side of the phalanx, as its special use was to involve the hostile armies in battle with one another.

At the beginning of the engagement religious influences played an important part—in the sacrifice (p. 136), in the password, for which the name of a god was usually chosen, and in the war-song (paean ; p. 41) in honour of the god who directed the battle. It is reminiscent of Homeric times and significant of the power of the spoken word among the Greeks that the commander delivered an encouraging harangue. While then the phalanx at first slowly advanced, at the signal of a trumpet it charged the enemy. As a people of great personal bravery, the Greeks above all relied upon a determined offensive. It was the custom to cover the last piece of ground at the double, during which it was important to keep the phalanx as unbroken as possible, and the Greek war-cry (ἀλαλά, ἐλελεῦ) made itself dreaded everywhere. A frequently recurring tactical peculiarity was the endeavour to bring about the development of the battle by unequal distribution of the proportion of strength over both wings and the centre. As the right wing in particular, where the commander was, generally had the best troops, it was not uncommon for both right wings to be victorious, and only a second encounter between the victorious divisions brought about the decision. Hence the 'oblique' battle-order of Epameinondas, in which the *left* wing, fifty men deep, at first vigorously charged the enemy, while the other troops, drawn up in echelon, at first merely kept the enemy busy and only gradually followed them up, while the cavalry on the sides protected the army from being outflanked, indicated a great innovation.

The important task of the victor, the vigorous pursuit of the beaten enemy, was almost impossible of accomplishment considering the lack of cavalry. Hence the results even of great victories were often trifling. Even serious fighting among the Hellenes only too much resembled an athletic contest. It was a matter of pride to remain master of the battlefield and to compel the enemy to admit his defeat by being obliged to ask for a cessation of hostilities to bury his dead. Rewards were distributed for the greatest acts of bravery shown, and weapons taken from the enemy were piled up on pillars or stumps of trees as tokens of victory (τροπαῖα, from τρέπειν, to turn or put the enemy to flight). At the same time, it is an honour to the Greeks that

up to the Hellenistic age (p. 165; Figs. 84, 126) in general they despised permanent memorials of victory, since, as it is said, they did not desire to perpetuate the victory over members of the same race, as being something hateful.

Owing to the exhaustion caused by the Peloponnesian War the citizens could later only be called up to defend their home; for foreign wars, such as were especially carried on by Athens, recourse was had to *mercenaries*. Iphicrates for this made decisive use of the peltasts (p. 265). Defensive weapons were on the whole made lighter, but the spears were made half as long again, the swords twice as long; the closed phalanx was broken up into smaller divisions that fought more independently.

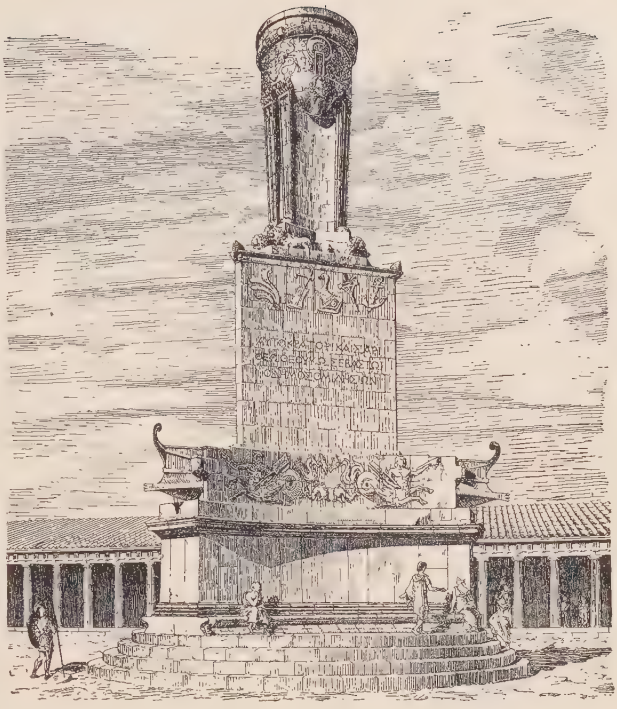


Fig. 126. Tripod Monument, Miletus (Harbour District)
The monument celebrates a naval victory, perhaps that of Actium.
From a drawing by A. von Gerkan.

The army of the *Hellenistic rulers*, on which the existence of their kingdoms depended, might either represent the old national 'territorial army' of the Macedonians or the collective levy of the Greeks and barbarians or a mercenary army, if all three elements were not combined. In Macedonia the old military organization continued, founded on a free peasantry and a warlike nobility. While the rest of the Diadochi, even without taking into consideration the frequently quite strong garrisons, kept a small standing army round them, there existed in Macedonia neither standing army nor fleet. The peculiarity of the Macedonian levy was already justified during the reign of Philip by the intimate relation of the troops to the commander. The cavalry were called simply 'companions' (ἑταῖροι), the infantry 'foot-companions' (πεζέταιροι); the latter, equipped with the powerful pike (*sarissa*), as a rule twenty-one feet long, formed the famous 'phalanx.' Alexander (see Fig. 17) also introduced a body of infantry (ὑπασπισταί) equipped with a light lance after the manner of the peltasts. Cavalry and light-armed troops had their special corps, which together formed the royal bodyguard. By the side of the latter on the king's staff there were also special 'companions' (ἑταῖροι) who kept

near him and the royal pages. The rulers of other Hellenistic kingdoms also adhered to the Macedonian nucleus of the army.

Alexander's great plan of amalgamating Hellenes and barbarians in the military department was abandoned after his death.

Mercenaries, who for the first time in history clearly became prominent in the service of the younger Cyrus (p. 60), were now made abundant use of by the Diadochi as well as by Greek communities. Enlisted at the great mercenary recruiting-places, they came partly from Greece itself, partly from Thrace and the provinces of Asia Minor. Held together by the feeling of *camaraderie*, they often elected their commanders themselves and represented generally a kind of democratic community which made its own decisions. Like the hired soldiers of the Renaissance bands of mercenaries sometimes changed their commander on the battlefield and went over to the victor.

The different classes of arms now acquired collective importance according to the well-tried tactics of Alexander, and had a combined effect such as had never been attained before. The cavalry, which was practised in evolutions and deploying, and the light-armed troops of all kinds opened the battle on the wing where the commander was ; the other wing also advanced at once, and not until then did the heavy phalanx attack. This peculiar arrangement made it necessary to keep reserve divisions ready as a protection against attacks on the otherwise dangerously uncovered flank. The elephants, which, with numerous archers in a tower on their back, were intended to throw the enemy's ranks into confusion, were also sometimes used for protection, but after the second century disappeared from the army as being an uncertain weapon—a fact shown by the Roman victory over Pyrrhus. ' Artillery ' was already employed in the field, especially when it was a question of forcing the passage of a river.

The cunningly devised improvements in *siege-craft* (p. 124) led to the development of a system which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. Roman technical skill, itself completely dependent upon them, and many of the latest triumphs of military inventiveness, can alone challenge comparison with them.

Philip of Macedon had already with great success employed artillery, which, in the form of εὐθύτονα (*catapultae*) and παλίντονα (*ballistae*), discharged large bolts or loads of stones respectively. Besides these there were machines, specially used by the besieged, which projected burning arrows. Movable ironclad turrets, often of very great height, were able from their numerous stories to direct the artillery against the wall. The machines invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes (" the besieger of cities ") in particular surpassed all others. Mines also, so important in modern trench-warfare, were frequently employed, together with bridges for scaling walls (*sambucae*), protecting shields and huts, battering rams with protecting roofs, and ' tortoises ' (penthouses of shields). The defenders on their side sought to protect themselves by all kinds of preventive measures, sheathing the wall with metal and facing it with wet leather, barbed poles managed from the wall, etc.

The Fleet. The increase of the import of grain made it necessary for many states to create a *navy* to ensure this importation in the event of war.

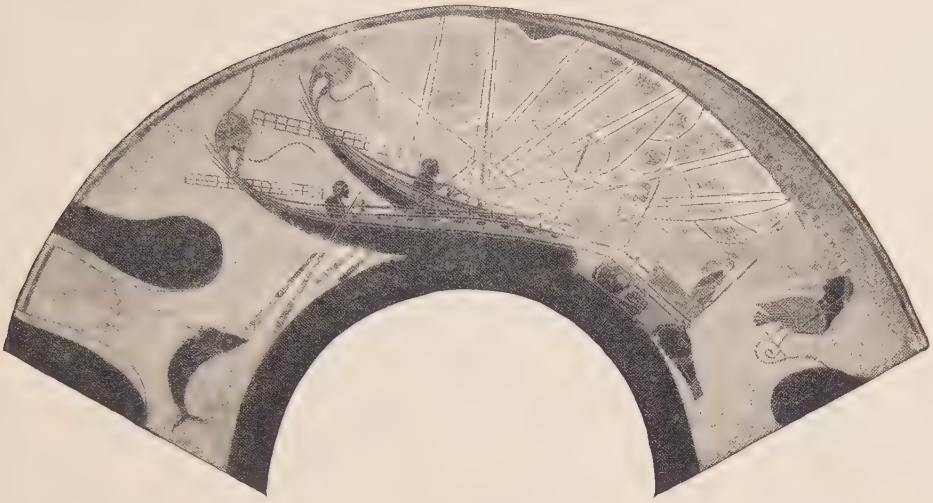


FIG. 127. SAILING REGATTA: FROM A BLACK-FIGURED CUP OF NICOSTHENES

The dolphin indicates the sea. A fresh breeze swells the white sail. The ram of the ships ends in a boar's head, the stern in a swan's neck; the ships' ladders are fastened behind. Nicosthenes was no doubt only the manufacturer, not the painter of the cup.

From *Neue Jahrbücher*, Plate 1.

As might be expected, the commercial powers, above all Corinth, equipped their ships suitably for war. Athens also, since the beginning of her dispute with Megara for the possession of Salamis in the sixth century, and when the neighbouring coast states, especially Aegina, entered into competition with her, kept a small standing fleet of forty-eight ships, which were furnished by forty-eight districts (*ναυκραρίαι*), probably political divisions. The older vessels, long, low ships with only a rowing-deck, named triaconters or penteconters according to the total number of rowers, gave place to the three-deckers (*τριήρης*, trireme) invented by the Corinthians.

The *trireme* is a lightly built ship about 120–160 feet long and only about 16 feet wide. The 170 oarsmen, who form the bulk of the crew numbering 200, sit, as is certainly still to be assumed, in three tiers one above the other. They row in time to the sound of flutes and the regular cry of the boatswain (*κελευστής*), while two large oarlike paddles with broad blade fastened with a cable are managed by the helmsman (*κυβερνήτης*). The sails, only used on the voyage, since at the beginning of an engagement the two masts are lowered, are worked by about twenty sailors. In addition there are about a dozen marines. Only in older times was a *naval engagement* usually carried on from the fore-deck; later this practice, with the additional employment of boarding-bridges, is only followed in exceptional cases, *e.g.*, before Syracuse (413), in the enclosed space of a harbour. The Athenians in particular, with their developed naval tactics, were able to a certain extent to give life to the ship and to send it into battle. The offensive weapon was the ram, still dreaded at the present day, which, sheathed with iron, projected just above the waterline. In order to carry out the shock effectively it was necessary to take the enemy's ship broadside. This object was achieved in particular by two manœuvres of attack, the 'circuit' (*περίπλους*), in which the attempt was made to wheel round the threatening forepart of the bow of the enemy's ship, and the 'passage through'

(διέκπλους), in which when a favourable opportunity offered the ship was shot forward with oars rapidly pulled in, and the enemy's oars still extended were smashed on one side in passing. In order to regulate attack and retirement naval tactics employed the 'back-stroke' (backing water, ἀνάκρουσις), which made it possible for the ship to travel backward without turning.

When the triremes were not on service they lay on land under sheds (νεώσοικοι), which were commonly arranged radially round small circular harbours. Hence, from the time of the standard naval construction introduced by Themistocles, the open roadstead of Phaleron was given up for the navy, and in the fourth century the little harbours of Zea and Munychia and part of the Piraeus together harboured about four hundred ships. In addition to the naval sheds there were imposing arsenals (σκευοθῆκαι) and dockyards (ναυπήγια). These collective structural arrangements for the navy (νεώρια) from the middle of the fifth century were protected against hostile attacks by a wall flanked with towers.

The *type of ship in Hellenistic times* developed in the same direction as in modern days, when Dreadnoughts are said to be superseded by super-Dreadnoughts. By the side of the triremes, which in course of time became less common, quadriremes and quinqueremes made their appearance. Demetrius Poliorcetes (p. 268) even built ἑκκαιδεκήρεις (ships of sixteen banks of oars). As well as these great naval colossi there was a large number of smaller vessels. The *number* of the giant vessels was of course considerably smaller than that of the old triremes. Only Demetrius once gained a victory at Salamis in Cyprus with the large number of 170 ships. In other cases even important fleets had rarely as many as a hundred large battleships, the considerable fleets of Rhodes and Pergamon not yet half the number.

(*B*) ROME

The Roman army in *Republican times* appears in two different forms: as the citizens in arms and as a civilian mercenary army.

The so-called Servian constitution acquaints us with the nature of the *citizen-levy*. According to its provisions the citizens were divided for the purpose of military service into centuries (hundreds), each of which had to furnish a hundred men. This arrangement is placed by tradition in the regal period. By it the old levy (*legio*, mustering), which already during that period consisted of 3000 heavy-armed infantry and 300 horsemen, was strengthened in such a manner that *two legions*, each of 3000 heavy-armed, were formed out of the first three of the five property-classes in which the people were arranged, from the younger men from seventeen to forty-five years of age, and 1200 light-armed from the fourth and fifth classes; in addition to these there were 1800 horsemen and, as reserves, two legions of citizens from forty-six to sixty years of age. To each legion a hundred carpenters (*fabri*), a hundred signallers (trumpeters, *tubicines*) and buglers (*cornicines*),

and unarmed substitutes (*accensi*) were attached. Offensive weapons were a heavy thrusting-lance and a sword; for protection those belonging to the first property-class wore a helmet, breastplate, round shield, and greaves; those of the second a helmet, long oblong shield, and greaves; those of the third only the long shield.

When in the times of Camillus it was a question of subduing the Etruscan Veii, the first city that was considerably superior to Rome, the army was permanently kept under arms for service in the field during the winter. At the same time Camillus introduced a fresh system of tactics, whose final development, however, does not go back farther than the time of the Samnite wars. The enlistment of troops for sword-fighting demanded a more open formation of the combatants, the arrangement of the army into small divisions with intervals between them, and peculiar battle-tactics. That is to say, the legion of 4200 men was no longer drawn up in a solid line, but in three divisions (*manipuli*, 'bundles'), in chessboard formation (five spots on a die, *quincunx*). In the front line stood the so-called *hastati* in ten companies or maniples, each of which was again divided into two centuries; in the second line, behind the intervals between them, the so-called *principes*; in the third line, also behind the intervals, the veteran *triarii*. In addition to the heavy-armed there were also light-armed troops, who, as soon as they had opened the battle, could again retire quickly through the intervals. To each legion 300 heavy-armed horsemen were attached, also divided into ten squadrons (*turmae*), each similarly arranged in three lines (*decuriae*, consisting of ten men).

Caesar's Army. When permanent military service was felt too oppressive, and professional soldiers appeared desirable against the barbarians of the North, **Marius** introduced a system of recruiting. The new arrangement of the entire military system, connected with this and already started in the Hannibalic War, was brought to perfection by **Caesar.** After the time of Marius the army consisted of citizens without means from the whole of Italy, who enlisted for twenty years, in the case of the cavalry for ten. Technically better trained, this army was in *moral* inferior to the citizen army, and, being personally attached to the general who raised it, it might easily become a dangerous weapon in political conflict.

In course of time the legions were levied also in the provinces—indeed, freedmen and slaves were occasionally enlisted, receiving the rights of citizenship for entering the service. Marius also introduced important innovations in the tactics of the legion, now brought up to a normal strength of 6000 men. He combined the maniples belonging to the different divisions in threes to form a cohort, the division into centuries being retained. All the legionary soldiers were heavily equipped, and carried the *pilum* (p. 273), the characteristic missile of the Roman. As a special distinction Marius conferred the silver eagle upon the legion, in addition to the simple standards hitherto borne by the maniples.

Until the grant of citizenship to all the Italians in the first century B.C.,

FIG. 128. GRAVESTONE OF A LEGIONARY SOLDIER

Found in Wiesbaden; no doubt belongs to the first century A.D. The inscription runs: *C[aius] Val[erius] C[ai] f[ilius] Berta Menenia [tribu] Crispus mil[es] leg[ionis] VIII Aug[ustae] an[norum] XL stip[endiorum] XXI f[rater] f[aciundum] c[uravit]*. The legionary therefore died at the age of forty after twenty-one years' service. He wears a helmet with cheek-flaps, the metal-sheathed, four-cornered shield (*scutum*), and the sword; his right hand holds the spear (*pilum*).

Wiesbaden. From a photograph.

a body of military forces, equal in strength or even stronger, took the field by the side of the Roman legion—the Latin allies (*socii*). They fought, drawn up in cohorts, on the wings. Part of these allied troops (both infantry and cavalry) formed a special body of guards (*extraordinarii*) at the disposal of the general. Before this, since the Punic Wars auxiliary forces (*auxiliares*) had been employed in addition, furnished or recruited from the provinces or allied states outside Italy. In course of time archers from Crete and slingers from the Balearic Islands were added to the old Italian pioneers (*i.e.*, the carpenters and smiths), and to the Gallic, German, Thracian, Syrian, and Numidian horsemen, who more and more squeezed out the native cavalry.

Up to the time of Sulla one of the consuls had the *chief command*, which carried with it the full imperium (p. 298); but if several armies were to be formed praetors and even private individuals were exceptionally entrusted with the chief command.

The red cloak (*paludamentum*) of the general was a reminiscence of the old king's dress. As possessing the power of life and death his lictors carried the axes in bundles of rods (*fasces*). A praetorian cohort of picked troops stood at the disposal of the commander-in-chief for his personal protection and service; toward the end of the Republic it included a constantly increasing number of his personal friends and political sympathizers, occasionally even historians (Polybius, p. 73) and poets (Ennius, p. 78).

For the settlement of financial questions the commander-in-chief was also attended by a *quaestor* as head of the commissariat (p. 300). He was accompanied by legates (*legati*, persons dispatched —*i.e.*, by the Senate) as his representatives. But in the late period of the Republic, especially in Caesar's time, the legates appear as the general officers. The nominal commanders of the legion, who may be compared to the modern staff-officers, were the *military tribunes*, six in each legion, partly chosen by the people in the comitia tributa (p. 295), partly nominated by the general. In time they were compelled to hold quite an inferior position to the legates, especially as it became usual to promote the inexperienced sons of distinguished persons to this position even before they were twenty years of age. The regimental officer who led the centuries of the maniples,

and as a rule worked his way up from the ranks, was called *centurio* ; these officers numbered sixty, corresponding to the sixty centuries of the legion.

In spite of the equality of the general designation there was a method of promotion through all the ranks of centurions, and the first centurion, the so-called *primipilus*, was even called in to the council of war of the superior officers. After the expiration of his term of service the centurion, presented with a piece of land, entered into retirement, and these old soldiers became local magnates in the small towns.

The *non-commissioned officers* were nominated by the centurions. In the descriptions of historical writers the standard- and eagle-bearers are sometimes distinguished by their deeds of heroism.

In the *cavalry* in addition to the staff-officer there were three *decuriones* in each squadron. All non-Roman troops, special forces as well as allied contingents, in addition to their own commanders had Roman officers over them (*praefecti*) as commanders-in-chief.

In contrast to the peaceful citizen the professional soldier wears, besides his undergarment, the military cloak (*sagum*), fastened on the shoulder with a brooch, which he takes off before the battle. The *means of defence* consist of a bronze or leather helmet, the wooden shield covered with leather and sheathed with iron, greaves, and cuirass. The latter appears in various forms : it is composed of leather straps covered with metal plates, of bronze rings, or scales. The chief weapon of attack was the sword, which after the Second Punic War was provided with a short, broad, two-edged blade and a sharp point. The soldier also wore a dagger. After the time of Marius, instead of the heavy thrusting-lance, the peculiar javelin, about six and a half feet long, the *pilum*, was in general use. With its long, pliable iron and the barbed point it was more and more made use of only at the first attack to penetrate the enemy's shield, and, as it stuck fast, to compel the surrender of the latter. The *cavalry* were similarly equipped, only the shield was smaller and the sword longer ; they also often carried two lances. *Special weapons*, as bows and slings, which threw leaden bullets generally stamped with the name of the commander, were at first confined to the auxiliaries.

The most important signals were given with the *tuba*, a straight trumpet increasing in diameter in the direction of the sound-hole, for the cavalry with the curved *lituus* ; in addition there were horns, different for service in the field (*cornua*) and for use in camp (*bucinae*).

The soldier was heavily loaded with *baggage*. As he was obliged to carry, in addition to his arms, food, cooking-utensils, palisades, spades, etc., the total weight of his kit amounted to more than sixty pounds. All the heavy baggage—provisions, tents, larger entrenching-implements, etc.—was sent on by beasts of burden accompanied by baggage-servants (*calones*), while the engineers under their praefect (*praefectus fabrum*) themselves carried what was necessary for a siege.

The usual course of *an engagement* was the following. The cavalry on the wings and the light-armed troops, scattered about, opened the fight ; then, according to the arrangement in three divisions (p. 271) retained by Marius, the first (the so-called *hastati*) halted near the second (the *principes*), and lastly, if necessary, the reserve (*triarii*) came in. The so-called ' tortoise ' (*testudo*), in which the front rank held their shields vertically, the rear rank horizontally over their heads, so that a mass of men walled in by shields opposed the enemy, must have caused a most peculiar impression.

The *march*, which was carried out in various ways and in Republican times was as a rule not too considerable (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles), was generally a travelling march,[1] in which the legions and army service corps formed the centre, surrounded on both sides by the auxiliaries. But, when near the enemy, the army advanced in order of battle (*acie instructa*), in which the columns moved in three divisions in parallel lines on the same level, with the cavalry on the wings.

For *siege-warfare* the Romans were entirely dependent upon the inventions of the Hellenistic period. The besiegers endeavoured to get at the enemy's wall with artillery (p. 268), which was more and more employed also in pitched battle, scaling-ladders, battering-rams and other varieties of ram, sickles, and axes, as well as stones; at the same time they protected themselves with all kinds of penthouses, screens, and sheds, and by arrangements corresponding to the modern wire-entanglements, or sought to undermine the wall by means of mining galleries. In the case of a protracted siege a mound of the same height as the wall was built up opposite to it, on which wheeled towers several stories high, provided with artillery and battering-rams, were brought up, and from which, if the resistance of the besieged weakened, it was endeavoured to reach the wall by means of bridges. The defence was carried on by means of fire, artillery, counter-mines, and reserve-walls.

The rapidity with which the Romans pitched their well-arranged *camp* (Fig. 129) was remarkable.

After the site had been marked out by persons sent out for the purpose, on entering the square area of the camp a ditch of considerable depth was first dug, the earth being heaped up inside it to form a rampart, which was strengthened by palisades. Two main streets, intersecting one another, led on each side to a gate. In the larger front portion of the camp most of the troops were quartered in tents, on the outer sides the allies, in the centre the legions. Behind these quarters for the bulk of the troops, beyond the chief cross-street, in the centre of an unoccupied space, were the headquarters (*praetorium*) with the general's tent; the tribunal, a raised platform from which he addressed the soldiers; the altar and the standards; the place for taking the auspices and that for executions. The unoccupied space on one side served as the camp meeting-place (*forum*), that on the other as the paymasters' quarters (*quaestorium*) for the army service corps and commissariat. This unoccupied space with the praetorium in the centre was shut in by the tents of the superior officers and those of the picked troops. Security was ensured by day and night watches, and outposts in front of the gates, who had to take the password. At the first two signals of the trumpet the baggage was packed and placed on the beasts of burden, and at the third the army began to march.

The *service* made exacting demands upon the Roman soldier: drill, in which great stress was laid upon carrying out orders smartly, marching with baggage, gymnastics and fencing, and the all-important entrenchment.

Discipline was strict. Above all, beatings inflicted by the centurion with his vine-staff were common. In addition there were stoppages of pay, refusal of furlough, extension of the period of service, floggings, degradation, drum-

[1 In which no special precautions were taken for safety.—Tr.]

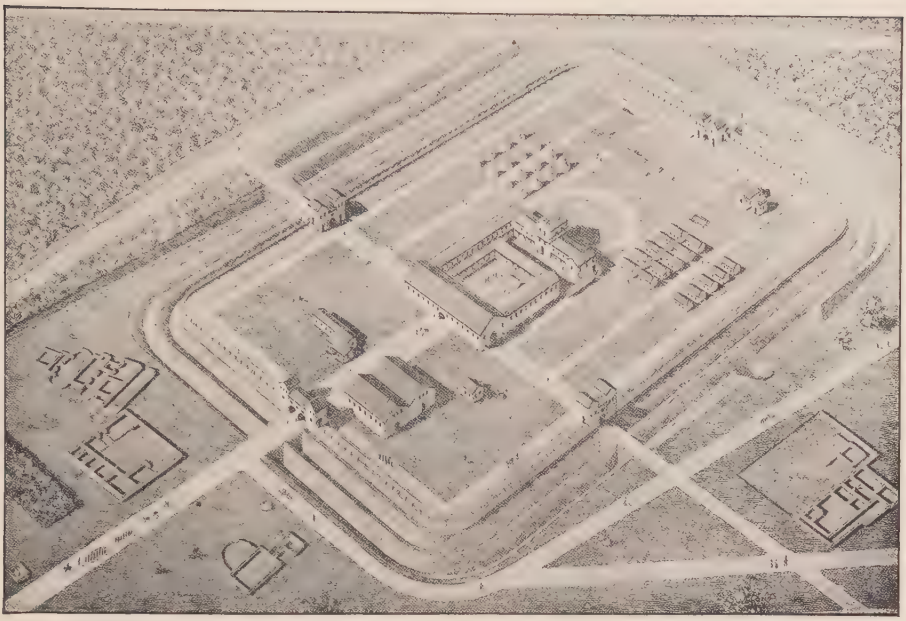


FIG. 129. ROMAN FORT, SAALBURG

The form resembles that of the earth-fort (march-camp). Rampart, trench, and wall of circumvallation are broken by four gates. Two streets, the long Via Praetoria and the shorter Via Principalis, lead from gate to gate. The group of buildings in the centre is called *principia* (also *praetorium*); it contains the *sacellum* (little sanctuary for the standards) and the large drill ground with the court enclosed by porticoes. In the camp are the living-rooms for the garrison; outside, the baths, temple, and camp-village (*cannabae*).

From Jacobi, *Römerkastell Saalburg*.

ming out of the army, and lastly executions, which were carried out by means of the axe, but occasionally also, in a manner similar to the modern running the gauntlet, by the clubs of fellow-soldiers. Decimation, the putting to death of every tenth man, usual in cases of mutiny, was an altogether fearful punishment.

The *pay*, which was first given to the army generally after the military reorganization of Camillus, was inconsiderable. In earlier times it amounted to about a third of a denarius (about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$) per day for the legionary, for the centurion twice as much, for the cavalry three times as much. It was not until Imperial times that it was doubled. Out of his pay the soldier had in addition to submit to deductions for uniform, arms, and maintenance. It is true that as a rule his *share of the booty* and presents from a general who was allowed to celebrate a triumph were not inconsiderable.

Further, there was no lack of special *rewards* and *honours*.

In addition to increases of pay and exemption from service there was a large number of military decorations: bracelets (*armillae*) and necklets (*torques*), lances and standards of honour, and above all the round metal plaques (*phalerae*) worn on the breast, to some extent comparable to the modern orders. Various kinds of crowns, the form and designation of which as wall, rampart, and naval crowns (*muralis, vallaris, navalis*) indicated

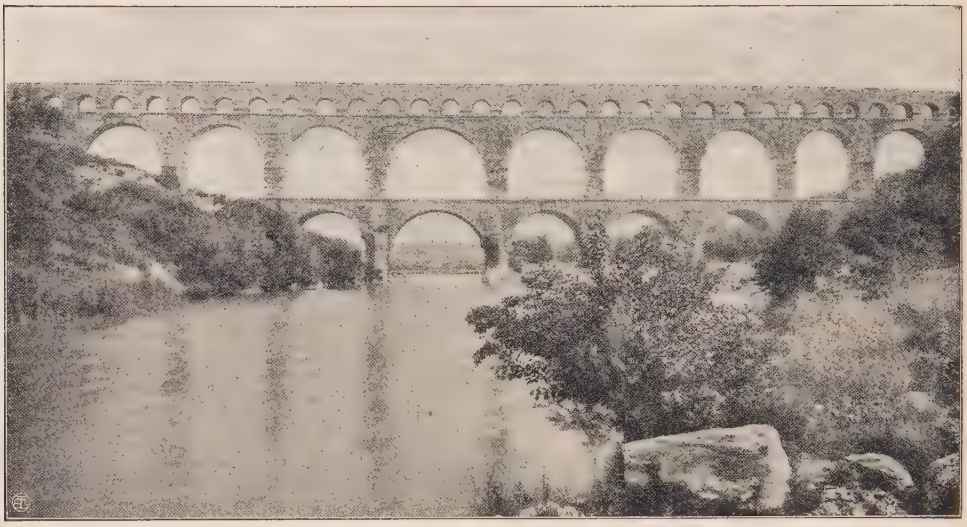


FIG. 130. AGRIPPA'S AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES (PONT DU GARD)
The Gard is spanned by three rows of arches; the lowest and the middle are about 50 feet high; the uppermost, about 25 feet high, carried the aqueduct.
From a photograph.

the particular act of bravery, were as a rule reserved for the officers. The most prized honours, the garland of oak-leaves with its inscription (*ob civem servatum*, for saving the life of a citizen) and the crown of grass presented by the soldiers to a general who had raised the siege of a place, showed a worthy simplicity.

Special honours might be awarded to the victorious general. After the battle was over it was the custom of the army solemnly to hail him as *imperator*. The Senate arranged public thanksgivings in honour of the victor, and above all it had the power of according him the honour of a *triumph*, a brilliant spectacle, in which the *triumphator* and his army made a solemn entry into the city adorned with laurel, the general himself in a gorgeous robe in his triumphal chariot drawn by white horses, accompanied by officials, the army, and the people, and all the spoils of victory, in order to offer a solemn sacrifice of white oxen to Jupiter on the Capitol. A more modest celebration of victory, in which the victor, adorned with a wreath of myrtle, entered the city on foot, was the *ovatio* (a lesser triumph).

THE ARMY OF IMPERIAL TIMES (Fig. 131). The dominion of the world was maintained with comparatively few troops. In the time of Augustus there were only twenty-five legions, after the conquest of Britain there were thirty, after Septimius Severus thirty-three. Not until the time of Constantine do we find the imposing number of 175 legions, but their strength was evidently considerably less. As the normal legion consisted of 6000 infantry and 120 cavalry, with the addition of the auxiliary troops, armed partly in Roman and partly in native fashion, in the same strength, the Roman army under Augustus

FIG. 131. SOLDIERS OF TRAJAN: RELIEF FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN

Two processions are moving toward the right. Below, the praetorians led by an officer and trumpeter, the standard-bearers following; above, the Emperor himself is leading. In the camp on the right behind auxiliary troops are unloading the baggage; in front a sentry is standing on a flight of steps to protect those engaged in fetching water (*aquatio*).

Rome. From C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, ii, Plate 79.

amounted to about 350,000 men. This force is the first real standing army and is always on a war footing. In continuous readiness for taking the field the army was quartered in larger masses in fixed standing camps (Fig. 129), above all on the Rhine and later on the Danube frontier, which in addition it was endeavoured to protect by the construction of frontier-fortifications (*limites*) with their light forts. Cavalry, light-armed troops, and artillery were assigned to each legion. As professional soldiers, who were soon recruited from all possible provinces, this body of troops was not inspired by complete love of their country like the old citizen army, and discipline had to be strictly maintained. If there was no fighting the soldiers were not suffered to be idle. Apart from rigorous drill every day, from which only those who voluntarily remained with the colours, the veterans, were excused, the soldier had to carry out peaceful works—not only to build fortresses, but also to construct roads, bridges, harbours, canals, aqueducts (Fig. 130), even to plant vineyards. Thus the fixed standing camps directly promoted the growth of the civilization of the towns in the countries where they were established.

The *praetorian guard* originated from the old general's bodyguard (*cohors praetoria*, p. 272). This Imperial bodyguard consisted of ten cohorts, each a thousand strong, under the command of the *praefectus praetorio*. In addition to the four city cohorts, each a thousand strong, and the seven cohorts of the fire-brigade and night-police (*vigiles*), which were organized in military fashion, the praetorians were the only troops in the city, and after the time of Tiberius were concentrated in fixed quarters before the Colline Gate.

The Imperial legate, generally an ex-praetor, *commanded* the individual army. Subordinate to him as colonels and commanders of the cohorts were the tribunes; in addition there was a praefect of the camp, who was partly

FIG. 132. TRAJAN'S COLUMN, WITH REMAINS OF THE BASILICA ULPIA

On the column, which now carries St Peter, formerly stood Trajan. The socle served as a grave for the ashes of Trajan and a memorial of his most arduous campaigns. Erected A.D. 113–114.

Rome. From a photograph.

[See p. 168.]

a commander of the fixed camps of the legions, partly a quartermaster. Lastly, Constantine instituted a military hierarchy with two field-marshals-general at the head.

Soldiers were admitted into the army from the age of seventeen, and served sixteen years in the praetorian guard, twenty in the legion, and twenty-five in the auxiliaries. Under Augustus, in addition to the grain distributed to him the *yearly pay* of the legionary amounted to 225 denarii (about £9), of the praetorian 720 (about £30); the centurion received twice as much as the legionary, the tribune for a long time only four times as much, until repeated increases were made, and in time uniforms and arms were also provided. Nor was there any lack of special Imperial presents. Part of the money was generally paid into the 'purse' (*follis*) of the cohort; there was also a burial fund for the soldiers in each legion (p. 261). On his discharge the legionary veteran received a gratuity of 3000 denarii (about £125), the praetorian 5000 (about £200). Instead of this the veterans often received land for settling upon, and the discharged soldiers lived in provincial towns in a respectable position, enjoying immunity from taxation and in receipt of various distinctions. In the matter of punishment and honours there was little alteration from Republican times. The only characteristic feature was that the Emperor claimed the triumph for himself alone and as a rule only allowed the general to wear the triumphal ornaments. The Emperors themselves immortalized their victories by columns of victory (Fig. 132) and street-gates, constructed after the manner of triumphal arches (see Fig. 100).

The enormous reception of German tribes into the army, especially due to Constantine, was bound gradually to break up the army itself and with it the Empire.

THE FLEET. In Republican times the fleet was only temporarily increased in strength, especially during the Punic wars. Since after that date no great naval power any longer confronted the Romans it was allowed to decline in a dangerous manner. Toward the end of the Republic pirates were thus able to harass the entire Mediterranean until this danger was removed by Pompey's great expedition (p. 84). In Imperial times also the fleet, which was regarded as the Emperor's personal property, was comparatively unimportant. From its two naval ports, Misenum and Ravenna, with which were connected the stations at Forum Julii (Fréjus) and Aquileia, it commanded the two Italian seas. There were small squadrons at Alexandria, in the Aegean and Black seas, and flotillas on the important rivers—the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

VII. THE CONSTITUTION

WHAT above all distinguishes the ancient state from the modern is the fact that there is no representation of the people, but, so far as is possible, the people itself decides; further, the activity of the official is a duty of honour, and the performance of the obligatory State services, as a rule consisting of military duty and especially of payment of taxes, is not yet generally demanded to the same extent as in modern times.

(*A*) GREECE

In the eighth, or at the latest in the seventh, century the *monarchy* (p. 32) is replaced almost everywhere in Greece by an *aristocracy*. The degeneration of this aristocratic government into an oppressive domination of a few, an *oligarchy*, frequently enables ambitious men, with the support of the lower classes, to usurp supreme power. As a rule this *despotism* (τυραννίς) only lasts for a short time and in most of the Greek states brings about the development of the rule of the people (δημοκρατία). But it is the misfortune of the numerous Greek communities that the opposition between aristocratic and democratic tendencies never disappears and often breaks out in fearful party struggles, in which the aristocrats find their support in Sparta, their opponents in Athens.

SPARTA adhered most persistently to the conservative, aristocratic point of view, and hence everywhere promoted aristocratic tendencies. As early as the middle of the eighth century the Spartan constitution named after the legendary Lycurgus can clearly be recognized in its main outlines.

In accordance with this, the *population* of Laconia is divided into three classes: the ruling *Spartiatae*, completely on an equality without distinction of rank, the descendants of the Dorians who had entered the land as conquerors, and then those of the old Achaean population; the *Perioeci*, free but without political rights, who were allowed to carry on trade and industry; and, lastly, the subject population, reduced, like the conquered Messenians, to slavery—the *helots*, who were regarded as hereditary slaves of the whole State, and as serfs bound to the soil (*adscripti glebae*) under harsh conditions of servitude cultivated the holdings of the Spartiates. The aristocratic ruling class of the latter lived in a kind of communistic society. Even a gradual increase of the property originally equally divided did not make much difference, as all lived exactly in the same manner. Besides this, the use of iron as money cut off commercial intercourse with other states, and thus preserved for agriculture

its importance as an economic foundation. But the aim of all the Spartan institutions was the training of the full citizen to be a soldier.

The State *education of young men* is therefore an indispensable, fundamental condition of the existence of the Spartan State.

The boy only lived in his father's house up to the age of seven ; he then grew up with others of the same age in well-arranged bands and troops under the care of the State. The aim of this military training was bodily strength and adroitness as well as freshness of mind, which might be shown also in cunning and craftiness. Gymnastic exercises were only practised so far as they served this purpose ; stress was laid upon gymnastic exercises, not on sport. Music and poetry also were only meant to animate the warlike feeling ; hence choral lyric, with its songs for march and battle (pp. 40, 42), was cultivated. Respect for old age, obedience to the State, unconditional submission to the law, quiet endurance of all pain, strict preciseness in behaviour as well as in the use of language (' laconicism,' ' laconic ') were the universally famed virtues of the Spartan.

The women also enjoyed a simple bringing up. By gymnastic exercises they attained the healthiness so praised in the Spartan women, strength, and beauty, which rendered them capable of becoming mothers of vigorous sons.

From his twentieth year the Spartiate belonged to a *mess* of fifteen men. If he was in the city, he had to take part in the *common meals* (φιδίτια). He was obliged to contribute a monthly portion of wine, cheese, figs, and some money to the mess if he did not want to lose his political rights. The chief dish was the strong black broth made of pork boiled in blood, only seasoned with vinegar and salt. The drinking of wine was limited, and drunkenness was looked upon as a vice only fit for a slave. *War* was the festive time of the Spartan, when he advanced into battle in his purple tunic, with anointed and garlanded head, to the sound of music.

At the head of the State were two *kings*, who, however, scarcely possessed any of the full powers of the old Indo-Germanic king with the exception of the management of the State sacrifices in time of war and peace and the decision in serious questions of family law and the rights of inheritance. After the sixth century only one king, accompanied by two ephors, under whose control he was, took the field. Only his honours were great, especially those of a magnificent burial.

The *general council of elders* (γερουσία), composed of twenty-eight life-members over sixty years of age, to which the two kings belonged *ex officio* without priority of rank, had to deliberate on important questions and also acted as a criminal court. The *assembly of the people* (ἀπέλλα) consisted of all Spartiates over thirty years of age and in possession of civil rights ; it is true that it had the power of deciding after the manner of troops in the field (that is, by shouts) on war and peace, questions of foreign policy, disputed succession to the throne, and elections, but it was only exceptionally that a citizen, except the kings, elders, and ephors, was allowed to speak.

The five *ephors* (' overseers '), after the beginning of the sixth century chosen yearly by the people from the entire body of Spartiates, possessed civil jurisdiction, financial control, and in course of time acquired the decisive

power in the constitution, especially as they had to see that tradition in particular was preserved. They arranged mobilization, accompanied the king in the field, negotiated with foreign states, presided in the council and assembly, and even exercised superintendence over all the inhabitants of the country, and were alone excused from rising from their seats in the presence of the kings. They were, however, elected only for a year, and were liable to render an account of their tenure of office.

ATHENS. *Organization of the Citizens.* Although the Greek State, like that of all the Indo-Germans, was built up on the basis of the family, the latter no longer appears as the most important division of the people, its place being taken by the tribe (φύλη). The great legislator Cleisthenes (509 B.C.), who further developed in a democratic sense the constitution created by Solon (594), substituted for the four old tribes associated with the name of Theseus ten new ones, a number which is reflected in all the State arrangements. The efforts of Cleisthenes secured for these tribes a mixture of the different classes of society in such a manner that, as far as possible, the plain of Athens, the interior, and the coast were equally represented. These ten tribes comprised the already existing small communities of the country, the demes (parishes, townships), which now became administrative districts. He also allowed the old brotherhoods (φρατρίαι) based upon family connexion to continue, although people of the same phratry were distributed among the different tribes for political reasons. If regard for the preservation of the old cults of family and races no doubt enjoined the continuance of these unions they were made so far serviceable to the community that, corresponding to the modern registry offices, they kept the entry into the phratry lists which was so important for the control of legitimate birth.

Finally, in the most flourishing period of Athens, the old division of the population, resting upon the *principle of rank,* into nobles (εὐπατρίδαι), farmers (γεωμόροι), and artisans (δημιοῦργοι), as well as the *political parties,* prominent before the foundation of the democracy, of Pediaei (lowlanders, large landowners), Diacrii (highlanders, farmers), and Parali (coast-dwellers), of necessity retired completely into the background. Nevertheless, Solon's principle of arrangement according to property (timocracy) into πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι (those whose land produced 500 measures of corn, oil, or wine, 500 silver drachmae), ἱππεῖς (worth 300 measures of corn, oil, or wine, 300 silver drachmae), ζευγῖται (those able to keep a 'yoke' of oxen (ζεῦγος), worth 200, or perhaps 150, measures or drachmae), and θῆτες (day-labourers) retained its importance for political life.

By the side of the citizens *foreigners* (μέτοικοι, resident aliens) settled in Athens in large numbers, among whom the ἰσοτελεῖς, who by special privilege were put on a level with the citizens for purposes of taxation (p. 290), although they did not possess equal rights, often acquired wealth and distinction. In addition slaves were exceedingly numerous (p. 242).

Authorities. Popular Assembly. In the ancient world the deliberative

assembly forms the starting-point of all political life. The old council of nobility, the *Areiopagus*, which no doubt existed in the regal period, certainly more and more lost its importance in Athens (p. 285). While in older times it exercised a political control over the entire state in the sense of the preservation of the existing order of things, by the middle of the fifth century it was already limited to its judicial functions (p. 287).

The *Council* (*βουλή*) that took its place, consisting of 400 members in Solon's time, increased to 500 by Cleisthenes, was appointed by lot from all men over thirty in the first three property-classes who were in possession of all civil rights. Before entering upon office, which they had to discharge without remuneration, the members (*βουλευταί*) were obliged to submit to a scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*, p. 286), and on entry to take an oath to observe the laws of Solon. Their privileges were a myrtle crown and a place of honour in the public assembly and in the theatre, and exemption from military service during their year of office. Every day, with the exception of certain festal days which were regarded as unlucky for holding sittings, the council met together in the council-chamber in the market-place, to begin its sittings after prayer and sacrifice. Two kinds of affairs come within the jurisdiction of the council. On the one hand, it only has to regulate the expressions of the will of the people in a legal manner. Hence it prepares all matters for submission to the assembly and draws up a recommendation (*προβούλευμα*, preliminary decree), which is in every case necessary for the decisions of the people, just as it looks after

FIG. 133. PERICLES (CRESILAS)

Pericles wears the helmet of a strategus, since it was by means of this office that he exercised his authoritative influence.

British Museum. From a photograph.

the execution of the decrees of the people, and, indeed, in special cases is commissioned by the people with the power of independent decision. On the other hand, from the beginning a large sphere of business was left to its independent administration and decision, including important measures in the department of war and finance. Thus it exercised considerable authority, although after the establishment of the democracy it was only regarded as an ἀρχή (officialdom).

With the assistance of certain officials the council for the time being looked after the farming of the State revenues, contracts for public works, the sale of confiscated property. The treasurers, the temples of the gods—indeed, the expenses of all the financial departments—were under its control. Further, the fleet, at first so small, and in like manner the only standing troops of Athens, the cavalry, were entrusted to its care. It also acted as agent in the important intercourse with foreign nations and in addition possessed a certain importance as a judicial authority.

So that they might not always be obliged to hold a full assembly of the council each of the ten tribes in order had its πρυτανεία—that is to say, fifty members of the council chosen for the time being from *one* tribe—who carried on public business. They remained together in their office, a round building (θόλος, dome) with a hearth in the centre, even for meals and relaxation. The president (ἐπιστάτης) of these prytanies was chosen every day by lot, and took the chair in the council and public assembly. He kept the State seal and the keys of the State treasury, the archives, and the holy places. Thus in Athens the democratic principle was pushed to extremes in a manner that never happened again.

The *voting* of the council, in the case of decrees proper, took place by show of hands (χειροτονία); in the case of judicial decisions, by voting-pebbles.

In course of time the *secretaries* of the council became numerous and varied. They not only had to deal with the drafting of the protocol and the reading of documents, but also with the execution of decrees, and, as checking clerks, with the State revenues.

The *popular assembly* (ἐκκλησία), which existed in all Greek states, especially in Athens, possessed an influence that turned the scale. Yet the people itself (δῆμος) was the sovereign power. Hence it is characteristic of the Greek, in contrast to the Roman, that he took part in the popular assembly seated. Every Athenian citizen of age (over twenty) who was in possession of civic rights had the right of voting. Differing from Roman conditions, voting did not take place according to classes, but all individual votes were counted without distinction. The number of meetings was small, at first only one, then four in each prytany. They were not held, as elsewhere in Greece, in the market-place, but on the rocky terrace in the west of the city, the Pnyx, and in later times, as everywhere, in the theatre (p. 52).

Every meeting was summoned four days before for a certain afternoon, the order of the day (πρόγραμμα, notice) being published by the prytanies. It was opened by a purificatory and incense offering, and by the prayer of the

herald. The president took the chair and punished any breach of order by withdrawing the right of speaking, removal from the speaker's platform (*βῆμα*) or from the meeting, a fine up to 50 drachmae, or the introduction of a stricter method of procedure in the council and assembly. While in earlier times it was endeavoured to prevent the passage of all dangerous resolutions by submitting all proposals to the examination of the board of control of the Areiopagus (p. 283), protection against all new laws that conflicted with any already existing was afforded by the *ὑπωμοσία*. This was a sworn protest, suspending a law or decree, which every citizen was allowed to make even after a proposal had been adopted, if he desired to do so. Another safeguard was the indictment for unconstitutional measures (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*), which might be instituted against the proposer of them. When it was a question of the personal interest of individuals, voting in secret by means of pebbles took the place of the generally usual show of hands. In the case of *ostracism*, introduced by Cleisthenes, the name of the influential citizen concerned, who was to be expelled from his country, but without loss of civil rights, on grounds of expediency, was scratched upon potsherds (*ὄστρακον*). The president announced the result of the voting in every case. The records drawn up in regard to the decree (*ψήφισμα*) were kept in the archives, a temple of the mother of the gods (*μητρῷον*), and as a rule engraved on stone or bronze and publicly exhibited.

The *subjects* of deliberation are numerous and in course of time become more and more varied. Above all, the activity of the sovereign community of the people had reference to questions of vital importance ; to all relations, peaceful and warlike, with other states ; and to matters of legislation and administration. Even the generals, in a manner that often seems dangerous, were dependent upon the people in many individual measures. The State ambassadors were nominated, instructed, and provided with travelling expenses by the people ; those of foreign countries were heard by the people and honours bestowed upon them. The people settled the services to be rendered by the conquered and by subjects at certain times, and the war-tax to be levied on the citizens ; made arrangements in regard to customs-duties, measures, weights, and coinage ; passed resolutions on the introduction of new State rites and festivals, especially on the awarding of honours of all kinds, such as the granting of civic rights, of isotely (p. 282), or of the State right of hospitality (*προξενία*) accorded to strangers, besides exemption from State services (*λειτουργίαι*), meals in the prytaneion (p. 290), bestowal of crowns and titles and statues of honour (p. 290).

In course of time the changes in the *officials* who entered upon office yearly were numerous and varied. There were three kinds of these : the authorities properly so called (*ἄρχοντες*), who to a certain extent possessed the right of ordering, punishing, and making independent decisions, or prepared causes for the decision of a court of justice over which they presided ; further, the functionaries (*ἐπιμεληταί*, overseers) instituted for temporary, definite, special public matters, with certain magisterial rights in their sphere of office ; and, lastly, paid subordinate officials without the right of independent administration.

Offices were filled from the number of actual candidates in the popular assembly, generally by lot, also by election by show of hands. Before the official entered upon office a *scrutiny* (δοκιμασία, test) took place before the council or a court of justice, which in particular extended to his descent (whether he was the son of a citizen) and his life and character, not to his special qualification for the office. Certain moral or even bodily defects excluded a man from investiture with office. After a solemn official oath taken in public and after the sacrifice before entering on office the official began his duties. His most important *right* was to impose fines or to secure the punishment of an offender by a court of justice, in which he then presided. Seats of honour in public assemblies and in the theatre, as well as exemption from military service, were regarded as the honorary privileges of officials. In contrast to Roman conditions there are no showy official insignia; officials, as well as members of the council and the orators in the popular assembly, wore only the crown of myrtle. Many of the authorities extended 'collegiality' to community of life in such a manner that they even took their meals together with their staff of subordinates in their office. On retirement from office officials had to render an account of their administration (εὔθυνα) before a court of justice.

The numerous *individual boards of magistrates* in course of time exhibit many distinguishing characteristics and a great capacity of development.

At the head of the Athenian State, as in many other Greek state communities, stand certain officials known by the general designation of *archons*.

After the middle of the eighth century they were chosen by lot together with their secretary, each tribe appointing one. They differed from the Roman consuls in that each had his definite sphere of authority, and they hardly anywhere appeared conjointly. Their official power was already so limited after the time of Solon that only the preparation of legal cases and the presidency in courts of justice, in addition to arrangements for festivals and individual unimportant administrative matters, were left to them. The first of the college, called shortly *the archon*, and later surnamed Eponymus, because the year was dated after him, is the protector of family rights and superintendent of the great Dionysia (p. 51); the old 'king' archon (βασιλεύς) retained the care of religious matters and presided over trials for homicide; the original 'war-leader,' the *polemarch* (πολέμαρχος), in classical times managed only the administration of the rights of foreigners besides certain sacral functions; the six θεσμοθέται had still more exclusively to do with judicial proceedings.

Courts of justice in the modern sense were impossible in Athens (p. 288); only an executive board was necessary, the eleven (οἱ ἕνδεκα), who managed the prisons and saw that the legal sentences were carried out. But the *police officials* were very numerous. There were ten city police (ἀστυνόμοι), to whom those responsible for the streets, buildings, and public morality were subordinate; ten market inspectors (ἀγορανόμοι); officials for repairing the temples, roads, and wells, for the superintendence of weights and measures, but especially for the control of the corn-trade (σιτοφύλακες) and the Attic free port (ἐμπόριον), who were obliged to see that two-thirds of all the cargoes of corn were deposited in the harbour for sale in the city.

The *finance officials* were numerous and changeable. To these belong the receivers-general of State moneys (ἀποδέκται); the vendors (πωληταί), who gave out contracts for State works, let out public lands and mines, customs, and taxes, and sold all confiscated property; the treasurers (ταμίαι) of the temples, especially of those of Athene.

The conduct of *military affairs* was in the hands of the ten generals (στρατηγοί), appointed by show of hands. They originally commanded the troops, but also represented the State in foreign affairs, carried on diplomatic negotiations, and concluded treaties, but as time went on were more and more forced out of the conduct of war. The regiments were led by the colonels (ταξίαρχοι), chosen one out of each tribe (p. 264) ; in addition to these there were two cavalry generals (ἵππαρχοι) and ten cavalry commanders (φύλαρχοι). Strategi also, not special admirals, had command over the fleet; there were only boards of control for the floating war material.

Among the *subordinate officials*, besides the clerks, indispensable also at the present day, are the heralds characteristic of antiquity, who took an active part in solemn prayer and summoning parties to court and the popular assembly, in peace and in war.

In course of time the original constitution of Athens developed more and more in the democratic sense. This was due to the admission of even the lowest property-class to offices. Pay was now given to the members of the council (which, it is true, had rather the character of a daily allowance), and especially to the jurymen (p. 288), and, indeed, also for attendance in the popular assembly. In political life this led to a rise of the artisan class above the conservative, agricultural population. *Demagogues*, actuated by low ambition and sordid greed, obtained great influence. Attempts were made in vain to check this fatal development. Thus in the introduction of the νομοθέται the intention was that initiative in legislation should be withdrawn from the people and transferred to a legislative commission appointed by it. When the repeal of an existing law was proposed it was defended by voluntary advocates appointed by the State (συνήγοροι) ; the proceedings, in which the voting was open, resembled those of a court of law.

Law. According to the clearly older usage regulated by Draco there were five different places, consecrated by mythical tradition, where a standing body of judges (who certainly cannot be regarded as professional judges in the modern sense) delivered judgment in cases of murder and homicide and other serious crimes, especially arson. At one of these places sat the old council of nobility, the *Areiopagus*, in the four others the *ephetai* (ἐφέται, ' directors of justice '). Thus in early times the old blood-money was done away with, and judicial prosecution of the murderer made a duty for every one, although at first this took place rather from the point of view of a religious expiation. The most important step in the further development of legal matters was taken by Solon when he made over the remaining jurisdiction to the *people*, an arrangement which led the Athenian democracy in its most flourishing time to its disastrous extreme. For while the officials at first still retained the right of judicial decision and the popular court only formed the court of appeal, this power of the board also soon disappeared, and nothing was left to it but the preliminaries of the trial and the presidency during the hearing. It took the plaint of the accuser and the written reply of the accused, had both petitions confirmed by oath, and in the preliminary examination (ἀνάκρισις) collected from both parties everything which appeared requisite for the decision of the legal question. These articles of proof, which consisted

of extracts from the laws, documents, depositions of witnesses, as well as the evidence of slaves given under torture, which was peculiarly regarded as having still more value, were deposited in sealed caskets (ἐχῖνοι) until the day of the trial (κυρία) by an archon who himself presided at the trial and published the verdict and sentence. At the same time the citizen himself was bound to make the legal aspect of the case his own, whether he chose to undertake the action as a personal matter (δίκη) or felt called upon to take steps in the public interest (γραφή). He was obliged to serve the summons in the presence of witnesses (κλητῆρες); to produce evidence (whether as plaintiff or defendant); to defend his cause before the court, whether he himself delivered a speech prepared for him by another (p. 62) or, after he had said a few words, had an advocate (συνήγορος), a friend or relative, to speak for him; lastly, he had to offer or tender the oath to his opponent. For Attic law knew neither public prosecutor, counsel for the defence, or the compulsion of an oath in court.

In all legal proceedings the citizens themselves, under the name of *heliasts* (p. 50), as they were no doubt called after the old 'sunny' hall of justice ('Ηλιαία), or dicasts (δικασταί, jurors), were the judges. In public cases large sections of 501 dicasts acted in this capacity; indeed, in specially important processes even two, three, or four such courts might unite. There were *professional judges* only for special, above all petty, cases. There was no appeal from these courts of heliasts.

Punishments in older times were especially strict, as is shown by the saying that Draco's laws were "written in blood." In time the dreadful forms of the death penalty were done away with—throwing criminals or their dead bodies over precipices, knocking down highway robbers with a club, etc.; the mild draught of hemlock was usual. The selfishness of the ancient State always combined banishment with confiscation of property. The common modern punishment of imprisonment, which was repugnant to the Greek sense of liberty, is only important as a coercive measure against State debtors or as intensifying the punishment. The permanent loss of personal freedom was always excluded as a punishment inflicted upon a citizen in normal times; only a non-citizen, if he assumed the rights of a citizen, was sold as a slave. But in many forms the loss of civil rights (ἀτιμία), which was felt with special keenness by men of ancient times, the confiscation of property, and other financial penalties were widespread.

The legal profession attained considerable importance on the political side when the Athenian Empire was founded and the *confederate states* also had their own court in Athens, so that in time every citizen over thirty who applied was obliged to be enrolled as a juryman. That a compensation for exercising the function of a dicast was now paid was at first a question of cheapness. The *pay* of a juryman introduced by Pericles only amounted to one obol; it was trebled by the demagogue Cleon. This rendered it possible for those elements of the citizens who did not want to work hard to earn a living without doing much work, while the industrious citizen kept as far away as possible from judicial functions when trade and business were booming. The fact that after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War every private suit was regularly handed over for independent decision to an *arbitrator* (διαιτητής) appointed from the older citizens did not make much alteration in the dangerous state of things, since the appeal allowed to the dicasts was made use of with increasing frequency—indeed, even the suits themselves were soon again allotted to them. As time went on, the competence of the heliastic

courts was increased more and more ; they had also to decide legislative and administrative questions. Certainly there existed a number of carefully devised measures to maintain the independence of the dicasts, and a number of precautions which surrounded the complicated system of allotting the proper court, the raising of the prosecution in a public suit, in fact the whole procedure, especially the secret voting with the metal pebbles (ψῆφοι). In the end, however, the orator's power of persuasion was the main thing, especially as the citizens in genuinely democratic fashion gave up their voting-pebbles without previous consultation. If the large number of dicasts made bribery more difficult than in Rome, yet these courts showed the same dark sides as the easily excited popular assembly. Great mischief could be done by the *sycophants*, men who made a mean business of law, accused or threatened to accuse innocent citizens, in order to get money by any means, either as the result of the condemnation of their victim or by blackmail.

Administration of the Finances. Although Attica, with its stony soil, was so poor a country that it was obliged to pay 250 talents (about £50,000) yearly to foreign countries for grain, yet owing to its commanding position it became very flourishing financially. From the middle of the fifth century to the end of the Peloponnesian War the tribute of the members of the first naval league formed at least half of all the revenues ; at their highest they amounted to 1200 talents. The substitution of a tax of 5 per cent. on all commodities imported or exported levied in all the harbours of the empire and a toll on ships passing through the Bosporus was no more permanent than the contributions levied from the members of the second league. The tolls, above all the 2 per cent. (πεντηκοστή) levied on all imports and exports at Athens, the imposts for the use of the harbour, the market dues, and the duties on sales formed the most important items of revenue. The old method of farming out the tolls often encouraged greed and chicanery. The only direct impost was the annual poll-tax (12 drachmae) on resident aliens (μέτοικοι) and the annual tax on slaves (3 obols). Legal business brought in a considerable revenue : costs, fines (some as high as 50 talents are mentioned), and confiscations of property. Of landed properties the silver-mines of Laureion brought in most ; they partly belonged to the State, or so far as they were private property were subject to the payment of a royalty.

Expenses were great. It is true that the infantry cost less than under modern conditions, since every man had to provide his own outfit, but the equipment and contribution for the standing cavalry (p. 264) as early as Xenophon's time amounted to 40 talents ; the continually growing fleet required far more than the land-army. Offices also cost the State little, as they were considered honorary. Only subordinate officials were paid, and besides this the amounts for common meals, journeys of ambassadors, and commissions, etc., were allotted by the State. But the payment of the members of the council, of those who attended the general assembly, and of the dicasts required a large amount of money (pp. 287, 288). It is significant that the largest sums were expended for religious purposes, for sacrifices and the like, but especially for the festivals, above all the Panathenaea and the great Dionysia. The worst development is shown by the so-called 'theatre-money'

(*θεωρικόν*). Originally granted as an entrance-fee to attend the theatre, it became a general amusement-dole, which the people demanded on other festive occasions as well. There were expenses for the relief of the poor and provision for the children of those who had fallen in battle. Further, the expenses of various honours increased to an unlimited extent—not those for the rare grant of meals in the prytaneion, but those for the numerous crowns, in later times often made of gold, and statues of honour, which were bestowed with increasing frequency. Lastly, the works of the building department were on a grand scale. Temples, theatres, gymnasia, official buildings, law-courts, porticoes, city-walls, trenches, moles, bridges, aqueducts, wells, harbours, markets, required for their erection and upkeep an almost constant outlay on the part of the State, although the temple treasuries could be freely requisitioned.

Yet in spite of great expenses, in flourishing times considerable *surpluses* were obtained. Certainly they were often spent discreditably; thus in the time of Demosthenes they were diverted to the theoric fund. In time of war reserves were to be found in the temple money-chests, which it is true were only called upon in case of need. Luxury-taxes, debasement of the coinage, attempts at monopoly, did not bring in much; little is known for certain of home and foreign loans. But certainly the *contributions* (*εἰσφοραί*) of the citizens were important, whether they were voluntarily given in genuinely ancient fashion when required or levied as a tax on property, but only in case of war, on the basis of the Solonian classes (p. 282). It is true that the State threw a great part of the expenses upon the richest citizens. They had to take over certain *public services* (*λειτουργίαι*) for their tribe. The regular services (*ἐγκύκλιοι*) that recurred annually serve the purpose of the glorification of the chief State festivals; among them were the provision of the meal for the members of a tribe (*ἑστίασις*), the training and equipment of the young men who were competitors in the gymnastic contests (*γυμνασιαρχία*), the management of the embassies sent to festivals outside Attica (*ἀρχιθεωρία*), and, above all, the very expensive equipment of the dramatic chorus (*χορηγία*, p. 51). For warlike purposes there were the equipment of a trireme (*τριηραρχία*) and the taking over of the war-taxes in the form of an advance to the State to pay the *εἰσφορά* (*προεισφορά*). To protect himself against having any such burden imposed upon him unfairly a citizen could propose the so-called 'exchange of property' (*ἀντίδοσις*), by means of which he attempted to pass the liturgy on to another by legal procedure. In the case of a people whose wealthy citizens at the present day are still always ready to show themselves the benefactors of the State it is easy to understand that the citizens of ancient Athens did not feel themselves unduly oppressed by these public services.

(*B*) THE HELLENISTIC STATE

Monarchy was not only the characteristic, but also the most widespread form of government in the Hellenistic period. This is in all the monarchies the patriarchal kingship of the Macedonians, more or less influenced by Oriental despotisms, particularly in Egypt by the traditions of the Pharaohs, and in Syria by those of the Great Kings. It was attempted to supply the lack of legitimacy by the rulers' claim to religious worship, and the wife was chosen from a royal, although occasionally a non-Greek family, and a fixed right

of succession to the throne, which at first secured the sovereignty to the eldest son, was strictly observed. In addition to this the princes attached great importance to a brilliant appearance externally; the typical royal costume—sceptre, purple cloak, purple hat, and diadem—at that time came into fashion, as well as a strict Court ceremonial.

As it was a question of an absolute monarchy the *popular assembly* could have no importance, although the Macedonians, who everywhere substantially formed the army, as the 'people in arms' on special occasions met together for consultation and passing resolutions. The *State council* of the 'friends' of the king had more influence, although they certainly were more important as a Court nobility than as advisers, since the rulers were in no way bound by their opinion.

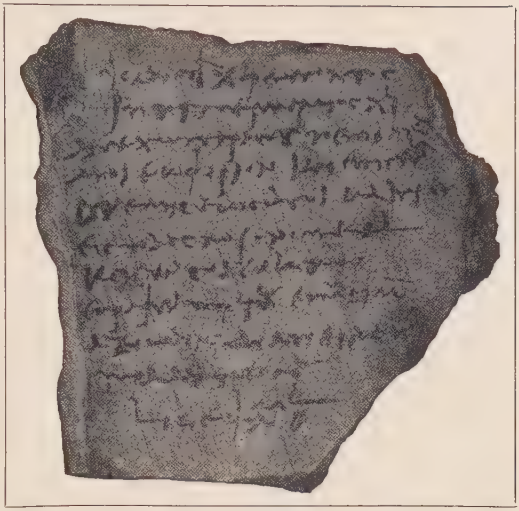


FIG. 134. POTSHERD (OSTRAKON) WITH A PRIVATE RECEIPT

The receipt reads: "Asclepiades, the son of Charmagon, greets Portis, the son of Permamis. I have received from you the proceeds of the harvest due to me and the subsequent produce on the land which I leased to you for tillage in the fifteenth year, and I have no further claim upon you. Eumelos, the son of Hermulos, wrote the acknowledgment for him, who was invited to do so, since he himself writes too slowly. Fifteenth year, 2nd Phamenoth."

From Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, ii, Plate 3, No. 1027.

The mixture of Hellenism and barbarism is characteristic of the *kingdoms*, which may partly be compared in extent to modern great states. The foundation of numerous *cities* served the purpose of Hellenizing. They were at first military colonies and, as such, points of support for the power of the ruler; the troops, however, had to be compensated for their long military services. At the same time, the settlers meant an important military reserve for the prince. But efforts were also made to promote civilization together with the founding of cities, although in many places no doubt the country in the neighbourhood of the Greek cities remained in a state of utter barbarism. Hellenism asserted itself most strongly in anterior Asia, less in Syria, least of all in Egypt. Yet a strong reaction on the part of the East against Hellenism is also to be seen. It was encouraged by the liberality of the rulers, who, following the example of Alexander, often allowed parts of their kingdom to determine their constitution. This was especially true of Syria, where principalities, free states, even ecclesiastical governments, existed side by side, reminiscent of the conditions of the German Empire in the Middle Ages, especially since a kind of feudal system was in existence.

Although the king was the supreme court of appeal in all departments,

he was obliged to carry on the government by *officials* appointed by him. Thus, for the first time in history, a lifelong officialdom makes its appearance, which, after the manner of a hierarchy, finds its head in the king—the idea of *public service*, distinct from the *Court-service* organized after an Oriental model. But as a rule the princes could not completely overcome the viceregal policy so rooted in the East in favour of a really unified ministerial policy.

It is significant of the military foundation of the kingdoms of Alexander that the royal 'bodyguards' are found in closest contact with the ruler, while the office of a 'chancellor' is by no means firmly established. Certainly, however, there was a 'Cabinet Secretary,' who prepared, sealed, and presented the royal commands; a commander of the guards; a State Secretary for War; and a Superintendent of Finance. Subordinate to these higher officials was the staff attached to them, arranged in settled order in such a manner that the national administration, which certainly more and more retired into the background, was preserved. To the Court-service belonged chief cooks, chief cupbearer, chief huntsmen, and chamberlains, corresponding to the Oriental Court ceremonial.

The Greek *cities* as a rule kept their constitutions, but only in outward form; State life had changed into a city business, in which market life especially, but also the care for the education of the young and certain official corporations (p. 255), played an important part. In the royal residences now for the first time world-cities came into prominence—Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Rhodes—with more than half a million inhabitants.

The appearance of *federal states*, especially as represented by the Aetolian and Achaean leagues, with their generals at the head, is an interesting phenomenon of these times.

The development of Hellenistic *law* is of great importance, especially as in Imperial times it still maintains its authority in the East as the 'law of the people' by the side of the 'law of the Empire' (p. 125). The most important fact is that the king now forms the supreme court of appeal.

In Egypt, of which alone we have more particulars, by the side of the Greek judges who proceeded orally there were the old 'national judges,' who were tied down to a circumstantial written form of procedure. The use of documents, as well as family and property law, is here strongly developed. The numerous arbitration courts of foreign judges are characteristic of the Greek free states.

Financial administration was very complicated, especially in wealthy Egypt. The *incomes* of its rulers, as in the other great monarchies, primarily depended upon the possession of rich crown lands. To these were added special rights and privileges (*regalia*, royalties) and monopolies. Among the taxes the land-tax is of special importance. Further, there was a number of productive taxes, especially taxes paid for carrying on a trade, but also property-taxes, although a comprehensive income-tax had not yet been introduced. The poll-tax was limited to the native population, and import and export, as well as market, duties—indeed, even protective duties—became usual, together with a number of charges and religious imposts on temples of every kind.

Oriental influence is clearly shown in the importance attached to *treasuries* among the Hellenistic rulers.

The nature of the *expenses* now corresponded to the Budget of modern states. Army and navy, the Court, pay of officials and embassies, care of religious matters, and magnificent promotion of cultural aims required abundant means.

In the *financial administration* of Egypt the royal private purse was a branch of the centralized Imperial purse in Alexandria. The head-bank was connected with the latter, in addition to which there were royal banks even as far as the villages. All established methods of getting in the taxes were employed, and by its system of State-farming the empire of the Ptolemies became the model for Rome.

The *free communities* had a hard struggle against financial difficulties, especially as trade-imposts, tolls, and isolated monopolies did not bring in enough, and since the system of liturgies (p. 290) could no longer be maintained people were often dependent upon the benevolence of the princes and wealthy citizens. Institutions for various purposes continually became more numerous until Roman Imperial times.

(*C*) ROME

Citizens. The fact that Rome was for a long time only a city-state—indeed, that all the arrangements which to a certain extent became of world-wide importance were originally modelled upon city conditions—gave its high value to the Roman *citizenship*. Originally only the old families, the patricians, possessed full civil rights. It was not until the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. that the struggle between the orders procured for the new citizens, the plebeians, equality of rights with the patricians ; in the first century B.C. the ' allies,' the inhabitants of Italy, obtained full citizenship in place of the limited ' Latin rights ' ; finally, in A.D. 212 Caracalla made all free provincials Roman citizens.

Civil rights included, above all, the right of inheriting property, of freely dealing with it from a business point of view ; the right of contracting a legal marriage ; the right of taking part in the voting of the people in the comitia and therewith the active franchise and eligibility for public offices ; lastly, the right of appeal to the people against the sentences passed by magistrates. On the other hand, civil rights rendered the citizen liable to all the services demanded by the State : service in the army, payment of taxes, acceptance of office.

The loss of civil rights was felt as a great disgrace, as might happen if a citizen was banished or sold into slavery for neglecting to perform the services in life and property which had to be rendered to the State, or even became a citizen of another state. Civil rights were transmitted from the father to the son, if the latter was the offspring of a legal marriage.

Hence in Rome the strictly regulated *name-giving* was important. In general a respectable Roman citizen in classical times had three names—the Roman ' Christian name ' (*praenomen*, forename), of which there were only about a dozen and a half in all,

which generally recurred in individual families in stereotyped fashion (M. = Marcus); a second name (*e.g.*, Tullius), which in families with many branches from a family name became a gentile name (*nomen*); and the more restricted name of the family (*cognomen*—*e.g.*, Cicero) which often showed little taste, and generally partook of the character of a nickname or described some personal characteristic. Special merits might also procure for a man an additional name (*agnomen*), which was still felt as such (*e.g.*, Africanus, Magnus). Daughters often only received the gentile name, and were then distinguished as 'older,' 'younger,' even as 'third' and 'fourth'; it was not until the end of the Republic that they also received the family name in addition (*e.g.*, Caecilia Metella). Freedmen assumed the gentile name of their old master and continued to bear their own non-Roman name as a cognomen (*e.g.*, Publius Terentius Afer).

In exceptional cases civil rights could be conferred by a decree of the people or by a general authorized for the purpose, but, above all, could be acquired by manumission from slavery. But *freedmen* were not considered to be on a perfect equality with the regular citizens until the third generation. In spite of this, it was just among the freedmen, who had at first been rescued from slavery on account of their usefulness, that much intelligence was to be found. Thus in many cases they were active as accountants, shopkeepers, and artisans, and also as artists and learned men, and in their social and political position, especially as they often acquired great wealth, they have not unjustly been compared to the Jews of the Middle Ages. Sometimes the Imperial freedmen obtained great, even political, influence.

The *organization of the citizens* during the course of time was a varied one.

The distinguishing characteristic of the old nobility, the patriciate, was landed property. By the side of the old patrician nobility, which no longer possessed a certain precedence except from an ideal and perhaps from a religious point of view, there soon grew up a nobility of office (*nobiles*, known men), to which all patrician and plebeian families whose members had held the so-called curule offices (p. 298) belonged. Their special distinction was 'the right of images' (*ius imaginum*)—that is, they were allowed to keep the waxen portrait-masks (taken from the dead, with corresponding inscriptions underneath recording the deeds of the deceased, p. 77) in a gallery of ancestors, thus carrying on a certain ancestor-worship (p. 230). Closely connected with the opposition between the nobles, who only unwillingly admitted a 'new man' (*novus homo*) into their coterie, and the *ignobiles* (unknown men), the later political parties of *optimates* and *populares* were formed.

After the second half of the second century a more strongly marked *social separation* of the orders made its appearance. It shows a triple division of the citizens, in which property as well as the honour of office asserts its rights. Out of the mass of the citizens, who are now again designated the *plebs*, the *knights* (*equites*) acquire prominence. To this body all those who possessed a fortune of at least 400,000 sesterces (about £3500) belonged. The great importance of the equestrian order consisted in the fact that it got into its hands the entire wholesale trade and banking, in which senators might not engage—at least not openly (p. 249). As the special insignia of their order the knights wore a narrow purple stripe on their tunic (p. 239) and a gold ring, on festal days the *trabea*, a mantle with purple stripes; special seats in the theatre were also assigned to them. The highest order was the *senatorial*, formed from the members of the Senate; they were distinguished by a special dress, a broad purple stripe on the tunic, and a peculiar kind of shoe, as well as by special seats of honour at the games.

Assemblies of the People. Sometimes the entire people presented itself at a meeting (*contio*), sometimes only a part of it (*consilium*, a gathering), in order to receive and discuss the communications of officials. The assemblies, in which voting took place, the so-called *comitia*, were of much greater importance. According to the kind of organization that was the basis of the voting there were three forms of these. The *comitia curiata*, founded upon the old patrician constitution (p. 293), almost entirely disappeared. In later times only the beadles (lictors) of the *curiae* were present at the sham voting, by which the official authority of magistrates entering upon office was confirmed or questions of family law settled.

For a long time the *comitia centuriata* (p. 270), which included the whole people, was of chief importance. Later, it still elected the higher magistrates (consuls, praetors, censors), and had originally possessed legislative power and jurisdiction in all capital trials. Later still, the decision upon a declaration of war in particular continued to be included in the sphere of its resolutions.

As the people assembled in the comitia centuriata really represented 'the people in arms' (p. 270) it was summoned by a magistrate invested with full military power (p. 298) —a consul, praetor, or dictator—to meet in the Campus Martius outside the city-wall, the red flag of war (*vexillum*) was hoisted on the citadel, and the fortress on the other side of the Tiber (Janiculum) was occupied by a garrison. The meeting was summoned for one of the 'lawful days' (*dies fasti*) three market-days (*nundinae*) in advance, and could not be opened until the auspices, the interrogation of the will of the gods (pp. 145, 299), had been taken; signs in the sky could prevent or suspend it after it had met—an idea which was frequently exploited for party purposes. From the conference the people originally repaired in military order to the voting-place. Here the classes of centuries voted until a majority was reached. In old times this might happen as soon as the eighteen centuries of equites and the eighty centuries of the first property-class had voted; later, the voting was regulated in a more democratic fashion, and the equites were deprived of the right of voting first. A written vote by means of tablets was substituted for the old *viva voce* method. At the conclusion the presiding magistrate announced the result.

Originally the plebeians only assembled, according to the local division into tribes, to draw up their popular resolutions (*plebi scita*). But after the middle of the fifth century the *comitia tributa* embraces the whole people, and from the date of the Hortensian Law (287 B.C.) its resolutions have likewise the force of laws. Legislation became more and more transferred to the comitia tributa, in which landed property had more weight than in the centuriata. The proposals were published beforehand (*promulgatae*), and after they were accepted they were announced as such (*renuntiatae*) by the magistrate, and afterward set up in public on a bronze tablet. In these assemblies the lower magistrates were also elected—*i.e.*, aediles, quaestors, military tribunes, and others—while the election of the plebeian magistrates, the tribunes of the plebs, and the plebeian aediles still continued to be reserved for the plebeian assemblies.

This well-arranged apparatus of the popular assemblies, in which historical fact was as far as possible conscientiously adhered to, was, however, altogether too circumstantial

to have been able to function in a genuinely democratic manner, as was to some extent the case with the sovereign popular assembly in Athens (p. 286). The proper management of public affairs demanded greater stability. With the degeneration of the citizens, especially after the beginning of the social revolution, after the appearance of the Gracchi on the scene, the popular assemblies were bound to become the theatre of wild party strife, and the extension of the rights of citizenship to the whole of Italy deprived them of all importance.

Senate. The corporate body which, above all, was appointed to rule the Roman Empire was the *Senate*. Under normal conditions senators were elected for life, a fact which was bound to have great weight for a people who had so high a regard for tradition as the Romans. No deliberative assembly of the Greeks can be compared in importance and dignity with the Roman Senate, which in that famous abbreviated form intelligible to all declared itself before the Roman people as equal to it in sovereignty (*S.P.Q.R.* = *senatus populusque Romanus*), but in reality possessed greater power. This corporate body, the number of whose members was fixed at three hundred, according to the general assumption was kept up, soon after the expulsion of the kings, by adding the members of distinguished plebeian families (*patres conscripti*). The number of its members fluctuates in the course of time; toward the end of the Republic it amounted to six hundred. But from early times the experience of those who had been magistrates was made use of by their admission to this honourable council of State. Thus the Senate ultimately is the indirect result of popular choice and may in this respect be compared with the Athenian Areiopagus, which, it is true, developed in an opposite direction, as it disappeared into the background before the sovereignty of the people (p. 287). Hence it was not a material alteration when, after the middle of the fifth century, the filling up of the Senate was handed over to the censors, since in fact they were bound by custom and later by express legal enactments to admit ex-curule magistrates of unblemished character. After the time of the Gracchi also ex-tribunes of the people entered the Senate, and the number of really 'nominated' senators was thus under normal political conditions quite insignificant. The power of the censors rather asserted its influence when it was a question of expelling (*senatu movere*) unworthy members from the Senate.

A *sitting of the Senate* was naturally distinguished quite specially by the Roman's peculiar sense of strict order and dignified earnestness. Wearing the insignia of curule rank (p. 294), the senators assembled in the Forum at the summons of a magistrate invested with the *imperium* (p. 298) or of a tribune of the people, after which, at the call of a herald, they proceeded to the Senate-house (*Curia Julia*; Fig. 98) adjacent to the Forum, sometimes to one of the temples in the neighbourhood (p. 220). The Senate was protected by fines and legal regulations against the incapacity to pass resolutions, unfortunately so prevalent in modern states. Whether the presence of half or a third of the members was requisite was determined by the nature of the subject. The Kalends (the first of the month) or the Ides (the 13th or 15th) were favourite days of meeting (*cf.* Caesar's murder, March 15, 44). The magistrate who summoned the Senate took his seat on a high chair in the centre of the assembly; in the earliest times the tribunes

of the people sat in front of the council-chamber, later inside on special benches ; the rest of the senators sat round about without fixed places. After the auspices had been taken the president himself brought the question of the day before the meeting (*ad senatum rettulit*), upon which he himself could ask for a vote ; but if he or a senator demanded it a discussion immediately followed. This was conducted in accordance with strict routine, magistrates and ex-magistrates being asked for their opinion in order, after the leader (*princeps*), a trusted member appointed by the rest of the senators, had first spoken. After all had spoken or briefly expressed their agreement with a previous speaker the voting took place by means of a division (*discessio*), all members present except magistrates taking their place on different sides of the house. There was a sharply marked distinction between an actual formal decision of the Senate (*senatus consultum*) and an advisory opinion (*senatus auctoritas*), which lacked validity if informal or vetoed. The presiding magistrate afterward published the resolution and handed it over to the quaestors to be kept in the archives (*tabularium*).

When it was at the height of its power all the threads of *State government* were in the hands of the Senate, whose position was originally only that of an advisory body. It became more and more the common practice of magistrates to ask its advice on all important questions. But its most important administrative sphere was that of foreign affairs. Relations with foreign states and princes, upon whom it bestowed titles of honour, such as ' ally,' ' friend,' or ' king,' and the condition of the inhabitants of the provinces depended upon it ; indeed, when it was a question of peace or war, in which the right of decision rested constitutionally with the people (p. 295), it exercised an important influence. It became increasingly frequent for a senatorial commission of ten to be appointed to assist the general (*cf.* the Spartan ephors, p. 281). But also embassies abundantly equipped and provided with funds, composed of members of the Senate, were sent directly to foreign powers, just as the Senate on its side received the embassies of foreign nations and kings, if not, indeed, the latter themselves. It controlled the provinces, since it possessed the superintendence of the finances. It made regulations for the arrangement of taxes and imposts and the extraordinary expenses required in connexion with military and religious matters and gifts of honour. Hence it had the power of demanding an account of their management of finances from the magistrates and in certain cases of handing them over to justice. For it possessed judicial functions only to the extent that for a long time it appointed the judges for the courts. Its importance even extended to the conduct of war, since it gave its assent to the levy of the army and fixed its strength, assigned the theatre of war to the generals, prolonged their command, and awarded their honours (p. 276). It influenced legislation to the extent that its assent had to be obtained for the resolutions of the people before the proposal was brought forward, and proposals could be brought in by the magistrates admitted to it. It arranged festivals, for the purpose of invoking the gods, especially in critical times, or for purification of the citizens, and looked after the national worship, so that it sometimes introduced the worship of foreign divinities, and sometimes prevented it from spreading. Lastly, it had the power of conferring extraordinary power on the consuls (p. 299).

MAGISTRATES. The body of officials that had the direction of State affairs, the *magistracy*, which could be appointed only by the people, developed out of the monarchy in the following manner. The place of the old king was taken by the two consuls, and consequently the remarkable principle of Roman ' collegiality ' soon became authoritative, according to which each individual magistrate possesses the full right of making independent resolutions (p. 299), and is only liable to the veto of his official colleague. The great multiplicity of the Roman magistrates was the result of cutting off various official powers of the consuls, or of the promotion of lower officials to independent magistracies. This also explains why the official authority of the Roman magistrate, which allowed him to exercise his activity in departments remote from his own special function, was more important than his own department. The highest official authority, originally peculiar to the king alone, is the *imperium*, the right of ordering and forbidding, which is exercised to a greater extent in the field than in the city, and confers military command and jurisdiction upon its holder. As the imperium might never remain in abeyance, when from some cause or other there was an absence of chief magistrates it was provisionally taken over by a ' between-king ' (*interrex*), who only held office for five days, appointed from among the senators. The special official authority (*potestas*) of the magistrates was variously graduated. But all possess the right of asking questions of the gods (*auspicia publica*), of summoning the people to the deliberative assembly, of issuing orders or edicts for their period of office, with which is associated the application of laws and edicts to special cases (*decretum*), and of interfering with their colleagues. The right of appeal to the people (*provocatio*) against the magistrate, which was allowed in the case of a citizen sentenced to death or fined beyond a certain amount, signified an important limitation of magisterial authority.

The magistracies were divided into patrician—which, however, in time became accessible also to the plebeians (p. 293)—and plebeian (tribunate and plebeian aedileship), which later were only filled from the plebs. Magistrates with the imperium were the consuls and praetors, as well as the (exceptionally appointed) dictator. Further, the censor belonged to these ' higher ' magistrates. All of them, as well as the curule aediles and the dictator's subordinate, the *magister equitum*, filled ' curule ' offices and used the ivory ' curule ' chair.

In contrast to Greek custom all offices were filled by *election*. The ' candidate ' (p. 239) presented himself a long time before the election to the magistrate who had the direction of it, who decided as to his admission as a candidate ; a rejected candidate could lodge an appeal with the Senate. Re-election and the age for filling the higher offices were regulated by law. According to this the midmost of the curule offices, the praetorship, might not be held until the candidate had reached the age of forty—which was often regarded as typical of a man's full maturity—the aedileship three years earlier, the consulship three years later. But he must have held the quaestorship before proceeding to the higher offices. There is little to be said in favour of the candidate being obliged to canvass the citizens for votes (*cf.* Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*), with the result that bribery and the purchase of votes often occurred during a candidature.

The magistrates ' designate ' (*designatus*, elected to office, but not yet having entered upon it), who were almost without exception elected for a year, assumed their functions

upon a fixed day, the consuls and most other magistrates (after 153 B.C.) on January 1, which thereby finally has become the day when the modern year begins. Entry upon office was preceded by the auspices and an oath to observe the laws, just as the outgoing magistrate swore that he had kept his official oath. If death, voluntary resignation, or removal from office (that could only be brought about by popular resolution) put a premature end to the activity of a magistrate another, called *suffectus* (elected after the regular time), took his place for the rest of the official year. Ex-magistrates not only held a position of special importance in civil life as 'consulars' and 'praetorians,' but also entered the Senate (p. 296). Sometimes a prolongation of the time of office appeared necessary for carrying on a war, but especially in later times for provincial administration. Hence in particular arose the so-called *proconsulate*. Provinces in which it was necessary to keep an army were handed over to proconsuls, the rest to propraetors.

As all the magistracies were honorary offices those who held them were not even entirely indemnified for expenses incurred by them, especially those of organizing the games, which were often very considerable. Certainly an abundance of *honours* fell to their lot, to the external splendour of which the Roman, in contrast to the simple Greek (p. 286), attached such importance—especially the state robe with a purple border and the bundle of rods, tied together by a red strap and carried before the magistrates by the lictors (twelve in the case of consuls and proconsuls), which, outside the city, contained an axe in the middle with the head projecting (p. 272).

The highest magistrates, who took the place of the old kings for a year, which was named after them, were first called *praetores* ('generals') from their military, or *iudices* ('judges') from their judicial, functions; it was only gradually that the name *consules*, certainly meaning no more than 'colleagues,' so characteristically simple, but yet important (p. 298), became generally adopted. Of the different full powers of the old monarchy (p. 32) the military power was the last and the least diminished in the course of time. As army commanders the consuls possessed the military imperium—that is, the chief command with power over life and death outside the city (p. 298). Hence they conducted the yearly levy and at first (p. 272) nominated the staff-officers, the military tribunes; they also originally declared war and concluded a truce or peace, although they were soon obliged to listen to the counsel of a body of advisers (p. 297). There was some risk in both consuls being engaged in the same theatre of war, since then the chief command was obliged to be changed every day. Of the old judicial functions of the king the consuls, as the highest magistrates, retained the right not only of inflicting disciplinary penalties, but of cancelling those inflicted by the other magistrates, with the exception of the tribunes. To this must be added, in particular, acts of voluntary jurisdiction, such as adoption and the emancipation of slaves. Most of their judicial powers, it is true, were transferred to the praetors, the most important matters of administration to the censor. The consuls also retained their importance in the matter of legislation, since they not only summoned the Senate and comitia (p. 295), but could also introduce legal proposals (move bills) and provide for their being carried out. An honourable reminiscence of the priestly functions of the old king is the arrangement, handed over to the consul, of the Latin festival on the Alban

Mount. As bestowed by the Emperor, the title of consul was famed as "the greatest honour in the world" as late as the sixth century A.D.

From the middle of the fifth century in times of war and troubled political conditions the more numerous *military tribunes* (p. 272) were for a time placed at the head of the State instead of the consuls.

It is significant of the importance attached by the Romans from the earliest times to the administration of justice that the *praetorship* was the first of the full powers of the consul to be cut off (366). For the special duty of the praetors was concerned with the administration of civil justice. In time their number was increased (by Sulla to eight, by Caesar to sixteen), without their ever forming a 'collegiality' like the consuls.

Each of the praetors had his definite sphere of activity. The first in rank, the 'city' praetor (*praetor urbanus*), decided disputes between citizens, the 'foreign' praetor (*praetor peregrinus*) all cases in which foreigners were concerned. Additional praetors were later appointed for the administration of the newly acquired provinces; hence, together with their judicial authority, they received the full military imperium. The establishment of the jury-courts then again limited the praetors to a greater extent to judicial functions.

Together with the praetorship the *curule aedileship* was created after the model of the corresponding plebeian office (p. 302). All the aediles had a general control of the public police department.

They superintended the traffic in streets and public places, as well as public morals; they kept in repair the State buildings and memorials, as well as the streets; they superintended weights and measures in the markets and protected the citizens from being cheated; and it was of special importance for economic development that they had to take measures against the raising of the price of corn. Since the arrangements of the public games also devolved upon them the office later made very considerable claims upon their financial ability to pay.

As early as the regal period two *quaestors* ('trackers of murder') were appointed as assistants to the king, and they continued to exist as subordinate officials at first appointed by the consuls. But after the end of the fifth century they were elected in the comitia of the tribes. Their number increased in course of time; under Sulla there were twenty, under Caesar as many as forty. Their juridical functions soon retired entirely into the background before their activity in the department of finance.

They guarded the State treasury (*aerarium*) and the archives in the temple of Saturn (p. 220), superintended the State disbursements, warned and took proceedings against defaulting debtors. They also became important as accompanying the military commanders. They were not only their commissariat-officers, but were also sometimes called upon as their substitutes in the conduct of the war, judicial business, and administration. Four Italian quaestors had specially independent powers; they had to deal with the financial conditions of the allies, partly with the supply of corn, so important to Rome, and they distributed their spheres of office by lot.

Only every five years (*lustrum*), when a census (rating) of the citizens was to take place, did the appointment of two *censors*, whose activities were exercised 'collegially,' become necessary ; they remained in office for eighteen months, while the census remained in abeyance for three years and a half. After the middle of the fifth century it was their duty to attend to the census hitherto carried out by the consuls and to draw up the new lists of the levy and taxation.

The statements of the citizens, who presented themselves according to tribes before the censors' office in the Campus Martius, on their personal, military, and property conditions were received and carefully examined. The censors had the power of expelling a citizen from his order, and in this way even exercised a certain influence on the composition of the Senate; their stigma (*nota*) on account of cowardice or neglect of military service was greatly feared. The solemn great purificatory sacrifice (*lustrum*) formed the conclusion of the census. Gradually further powers were developed from their duties as censors : on the one hand the letting out of State domain lands and taxes ; on the other, their interposition as judges of morals in regard to events of private life which were regarded as dangerous from a moral or religious point of view. The important influence of the censorship, under which, in times when the moral standard was high, the dignity and austerity peculiar to the spirit of Rome could live fully and freely, makes it easy to understand that, although no imperium was associated with this office and in the succession of offices it only came after the praetorship, yet ex-consuls strove to obtain it and held it as an office of special honour. The censorship gradually disappeared with the downfall of the Republic (p. 303).

The *tribunate of the people*, on the whole so important for the completion of the Roman constitution and at the same time for the development of the constitutional idea, presents a remarkable contrast to the magistracies hitherto discussed. It was clearly the first plebeian success in the struggle of the orders after the foundation of the Republic when two tribunes of the people were appointed ; by the middle of the fifth century their number had already risen to ten.

Originally regarded not so much as a magistracy as a representation of the plebeians, by whom and from whom the tribunate was filled, at first it is only sharply opposed to the magistrates in such a manner that its effect is purely negative in the face of the positive imperium. The tribunes, that is to say, at first obtained the right of protecting those of their own order against the encroachments of patrician magistrates, especially if it was a question of summoning for military service or carrying away into bondage for debt ; by virtue of the right of intercession (*intercessio*) they had the power to veto any official measure, and to suspend legal proceedings and meetings of the people and Senate. All who disobeyed were exposed to the full force of their authority ; they could even inflict the punishment of death upon such offenders by throwing them down from the Tarpeian Rock. In contrast to this they themselves were ' inviolable ' (*sacrosancti*) ; only in legal procedure was there a right of appeal against their decree. But from this negative activity a highly important positive one was bound to follow immediately. As they had the right to summon the plebs, in the course of development they also became able to negotiate with the people assembled in the comitia tributa and to bring in their legal proposals. After the first half of the third century they even acquired the right of summoning the Senate and of bringing forward proposals in it. But if the tribunes, who did not wear the insignia of high office and had not the right to take the auspices

(p. 298) or issue edicts, were able to cripple the imperium, yet in turn many limitations of their power were introduced in the established structure of the Roman constitution, which provided that one privilege should always in its turn be kept within bounds by another. As the tribunes might not go farther than the first milestone outside the city, they were able to do nothing against the military imperium, which it was true was only exceptionally exercised in the city (p. 298). Further, they formed a ' college,' and among the large number of ten members there might easily be found one who by his veto could render the activity of the rest of his colleagues of no effect. True to its traditional importance as an opposition, which even at the present day is attached to the term ' tribune of the people,' the tribunate finally, in the great revolution of the last century of the Roman Republic, was the leader in the last social and political struggle, and the connecting link in the change from the Republic to the Monarchy.

Appointed as assistants to the tribunes of the people, the 'college' of the two *aediles,* conjecturally named from the temple of Ceres (*aedes Cereris*) that housed the plebeian archives and later combined with that of the curule aediles, with which it completely amalgamated (p. 300), had to take in hand all police regulations.

In cases of emergency, especially when it was a matter of carrying on war against foreign or even internal enemies (also for holding the comitia for elections, conducting judicial investigations, even for certain religious measures), the full imperium was conferred upon a *dictator* nominated only by one of the consuls by decree of the Senate. The dictator himself appointed a master of the horse (*magister equitum*) as his assistant and representative.

All magistrates were subordinate to him, so far as their general functions were concerned ; at first not even the veto of a tribune in the city nor an appeal to the people availed against his command. But if his specified business was dispatched, or if the magistrate who had conferred the imperium upon him retired from office, the dictator also was obliged to resign ; in no case might he continue in office longer than six months. After the Second Punic War the place of this institution was taken by *full power* bestowed upon the consuls in critical situations to protect the State from harm (*videant consules, ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*)—that is, to exercise martial law. The dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar, as well as the two well-known triumvirates, completely abandon the ground of the old constitution, which in old times (451) had already once been abolished in favour of the ten men (*decemviri*) who undertook the codification of the law.

Some of the 'colleges' of the *lower magistrates,* who received their names from the number of their members, are important for the judicial system; of those instituted for extraordinary purposes the commissions for the assignment of land and the foundation of colonies deserve special mention.

The Emperor and his Magistrates. In spite of the many changes which the Roman Empire underwent, yet during the first three centuries it exhibits in the main nothing more than a union of all Republican official powers and civil rights for life in the person of a single individual. The Emperor was *princeps,* the first citizen of the State, who as *princeps senatus* (p. 297) had to give his vote in the Senate first, and thereby, especially considering its servility, became its leader. As *imperator*—a title, which must

FIG. 135. THE FORUM WITH THE ORATORS' PLATFORM (ROSTRA): RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

The *rostra* is terminated by a balustrade which leaves an opening in the centre. At the corners seated statues of honour are fixed up. In the background public buildings are indicated by arches and columns. Rome. Photo Anderson.

always stand before the name—he possessed the military imperium and consequently proconsular power (p. 299) in all the provinces in which armies were quartered and the administration of these provinces, with which after the time of Trajan Italy itself was united. As supreme war-lord, to whom the troops were bound by oath, and who rewarded and discharged them, he also possessed the military imperium in the city and could keep a bodyguard (p. 277) for himself in Italy; indeed, he even had the chief supervision of the earlier propraetorian (p. 299) provinces, which were at first allotted to the Senate. In the same manner there devolved upon him the superintendence of all the states subject to Rome, the right to decide on peace or war, the representation of the State abroad. Lastly, the militarily organized police in Rome (*praefectura urbis*), which also looked after the fire-brigade, was subordinate to him. If the effect of the imperium was rather external the full *tribunician power*, which the Emperor permanently held, while he only took over the consulship occasionally, gave him the most important influence on the internal development of the State. The Emperor thereby becomes definitely the representative of the people, even in face of the Senate, and possesses not only the right of protection and prosecution, but, above all, the initiative in legislation, as well as the right of taking steps against all the other powers of the State. While, in accordance with the old, strict tribunician privilege, he was personally inviolable, he was himself irresponsible. Further, the old rights of the censors belonged to him (p. 301); as the supervisor of public morals (*praefectus morum*) he took the census and consequently influenced the composition of the Senate, the members of which in reality became gradually more and more his own nominees. Many functions were connected with the powers mentioned: the administration of the Imperial private purse (p. 306) and the right of coining money, the care of the streets, public buildings, aqueducts, the supply of the provisions necessary for the support of the common people (*praefectura annonae*), which was not practicable without the mastery of the sea and the corn-growing countries. The Emperor was also bound to exercise influence on the *administration of justice*. His judicial decisions, as well as his enactments in the sphere of executive functions, had

the authority of law. Lastly, the Emperor was also a permanent member of all the important colleges of priests, such as those of the augurs and Arval brethren; but, above all, as pontifex maximus he had an authoritative influence on the State cult and was thus in a certain sense *summus episcopus*. The epithet *Augustus*, which later appears as typical of the ruling monarch, was at first an honorary title, while the family designation *Caesar*, originally borne by all the Emperors, was no longer used except by the successor to the throne. Lastly, a further honorary title is the name of 'father of the fatherland' (*pater patriae*).

Although the Emperor was originally bound by the laws more and more privileges were conceded to him by the Senate. But it was Diocletian who first founded the absolutist Imperial government, completely independent of the Senate, with its outward show in costume and crown, whereas the ruler had previously been content with the commander's uniform and the crown of laurel. It is true that apotheosis (deification) was introduced earlier under Hellenistic influence (p. 131).

While the old Republican magistracies more and more sank to the level of simple distinctions the importance of the Imperial *officials*, the governors of the provinces on the military and financial side, the *legates* and *procurators*, increased. In addition to these there were *curators* of roadmaking, aqueducts, navigation of the Tiber, and public buildings of every kind. But some of the *praefects* were of special importance. The city *praefect* (*praefectus urbi*), together with the former police authority of the aediles, exercised criminal jurisdiction in the district of Rome, and later was the final court of appeal in Imperial judicial proceedings. Under him was the *praefectus vigilum*, the commander of the cohorts of watchmen appointed to secure the safety of Rome by night and superintend the fire-brigade (p. 303). A rival authority of the city praefect was the commander of the Imperial bodyguard (*praefectus praetorio*), who occasionally represented the Emperor and next to him was the chief court of appeal in criminal jurisdiction outside Italy. The provision of the corn-supply, so important for Rome, was transferred to the *praefectus annonae*, and the *praefectus Aegypti* administered the most important crown domain of the Imperial fisc.

A third class of officers developed from the service at Court on the Hellenistic model (p. 292). In particular three important 'ministries' grew out of it: the secretary (*ab epistulis*), accountant (*a rationibus*), and the ministry of petitions and complaints (*a libellis*). Life at Court also developed a kind of non-obligatory State council in the cohort of the 'friends' of the Emperor, whose titles were even graduated (p. 243).

Financial Matters. Since, according to the Roman idea, all the common land of a defeated enemy fell to the Roman State as a matter of right, such conquests opened up the chief source of all *State revenues*, even if the State, as was usual, only claimed a third of the subject country.

The Roman State took only a little of this under its own administration as domain lands; part of them it gave up to citizens or Italians for the foundation of colonies, part of the common land (*ager publicus*) it transferred to the citizens to be turned to the best

account, at first in return for a yearly rent. Uncultivated land yielded profits as common pasture, and forests, rivers, and lakes with their abundance of fish were also exploited for the State.

The provincials remained mostly in possession of the land, and then only paid taxes to Rome, sometimes as ground-rent, sometimes as a capitation tax. All the other taxes appear only insignificant in comparison with the Egyptian system of taxation. The most important were certainly those imposed upon imported wares. There was also a tax on emancipation, which first and foremost was no doubt intended to prevent its becoming too common. As in Athens, among the extraordinary sources of income was the direct property-tax in times of war (*tributum*), which, since it was generally paid back from the war indemnity of the enemy, had rather the character of a State loan. Contributions for war and confiscations of property brought in considerable sums ; this is not so evident in the case of fines.

In *Imperial times* a general direct system of taxation became more and more common, in the end even in Italy, which was formerly exempt from it ; there is, in addition, a ground-tax. Besides the import-duties, taxes on markets, bridges, and highways, there are imposts in the case of purchase, especially of slaves, emancipations, inheritances, change of landed property, and other judicial matters. In spite of a number of other special liabilities the conditions of the subject peoples were still bearable as long as the abundant revenues, especially from the crown lands of Egypt, were available for disposal. It was not until after the period of impoverishment of the third century that the general distress and the wholesale absconding of those liable to pay taxes began.

In *Republican times* the *expenses*, estimated by modern conditions, were quite small. The State offices, with the exception of governorships, were regarded as ' honours ' (*honores*), while only modest salaries were granted to the lower officials. Pay for the army, which was introduced after the end of the fifth century, was collected again from the conquered enemy, just as the expenses of public buildings were partly recovered by taxes on those who used them ; the very considerable disbursements for the worship of the gods were thrown upon the shoulders of magistrates (p. 299). But after the social reform of the Gracchi the distributions of corn to the people required large sums. In *Imperial times* the chief expenses were connected with the Court, the administration with its host of officials, and the army.

The *financial administration* was in the hands of the Senate (p. 297), supported by the censors and especially by the quaestors, who also had to look after the State treasury in the temple of Saturn (p. 300). The collection of the different taxes was let out every five years to the highest bidder, and these farmers of taxes (*publicani*), who as a rule belonged to the equestrian order, did their utmost to make the most out of it for themselves, so that the evil reputation which in the eyes of provincials put ' publicans ' and ' sinners ' on the same level was only too well justified.

In *Imperial times* the public money was chiefly diverted to the Imperial special treasury (*fiscus*), while the State-treasury (*aerarium*) in course of time dwindled away to the scanty city-treasury. Augustus, however, instituted a special treasury (pension-fund) for the needs of the army (*aerarium militare*). In the provinces the taxes were now in the main levied directly by the procurators. Farming out the taxes, monopolies, tolls, are now subjected to a strict control, the result being that the worst canker in the public life of the Republic was at least so far mitigated when the provincials could no longer be oppressed so openly and shamelessly. Finally, Diocletian introduced a new system of levying taxes, by entrusting the imposition of taxes to his praefects and their collection to the presidents set over the provinces.

Law. The first codification of Roman law, the Law of the Twelve Tables (pp. 76, 257), could not suffice. To this was added the continuous *edict of the praetors*, which grew up out of the individual edicts of praetors entering upon office. But in Rome also, as in Greece (p. 286), in the case of the magistrates judicial functions appear combined with their administrative duties. It was the Roman who first separated the departments of judicial administration in the manner that prevails even at the present day. *Civil law*, extending to individuals and their interests, was limited only to citizens, while foreigners were treated on the basis of the agreements concluded with them. *Criminal law* attended to the interests of the State: murder, arson, unchastity, magic, were also included in it as crimes that imperilled it. The *administrative judicial procedure* of the magistrates, *voluntary jurisdiction*, as especially shown in cases of emancipation and adoption, and *procedure in a court of arbitration*, which had to give its decisions according to equity, were accessory to it. Strict law was gradually mitigated as justice based upon equity, of which non-citizens availed themselves—the so-called *law of nations* (*ius gentium*)—made its way in.

The fact that all judicial proceedings were carried on orally in the publicity of the Forum; that it was customary to provide every judge or arbitrator with a legal adviser; and in no less degree the Southerner's natural faculty for keen discrimination—these were the reasons why the judicial system found the security of its forms in practical activity.

The entire direction in *civil processes* was for a long time in the hands of the praetors alone, until special officials became necessary for provincial cities, whom they themselves appointed.

As in Greek law (p. 288) the plaintiff himself was obliged to bring the defendant to the spot and might compel him to appear before the court by calling a witness; in later times the defendant might provide sureties for his appearance. With ancient formulae the praetor—who, on the court-days allowed by religious regulations, sitting in the comitium on an elevated tribunal in the open air until sunset, was obliged to receive accusations—introduced the case. When the facts were clear he himself could give a decision. Often, however, he referred the legal question for decision to a *single judge* or *a committee of three or five judges* (*recuperatores*), whom he selected in concert with the parties according to the list (*album*) drawn up by him. After many alterations, which

political conditions brought with them, from 70 B.C. the courts were composed of an equal number of senators, knights, and the very highly assessed citizens of the plebs (*tribuni aerarii*). There were standing commissions of judges only for a number of departments, especially for cases of personal liberty and disputes about inheritance. Plaintiff and defendant addressed the judges, and could either themselves show proof or refute, or employ an ' orator ' to defend them (*patronus*). After the judges had consulted voting took place by means of voting-tablets marked with the letters A (*absolvo*) and C (*condemno*) ; the verdict was then announced. But the matter could be reconsidered at a later hearing.

In a *criminal process* also, which was a matter of public right (*ius publicum*), the praetors had to intervene as the consuls did before the institution of the former. A summary procedure was only allowed against common criminals of the lower classes before a special court. Through the right of appeal (*provocatio ad populum*), already established in regal times, the original penal jurisdiction of the officials developed into a procedure before the popular assembly (p. 295), the comitia centuriata deciding questions of the death penalty, the comitia tributa only those of heavy fines. The overloading of the popular assembly with business in particular brought about the establishment of standing judicial courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*), at first for exceptional cases, and after 146 for definite offences. In time the number of these courts, which were presided over by praetors or ex-aediles, was increased to eight.

The accuser requested permission from the praetor to bring his accusation. If several accusers presented themselves it had to be decided in a previous inquiry who should start the prosecution. The accused was then entered by the praetor in his list and summoned for examination. When the facts were clear the praetor might decide independently ; if not, he referred the suit to the standing court concerned, or, if it was a matter of capital punishment, to the comitia. In the first case accuser and accused delivered their speeches ; then the evidence was produced and arguments heard, the judges were put on oath, and the voting followed. But before the people the action was only completely cleared up in three hearings before voting was proceeded with. If the accused did not appear in spite of being summoned three times, he was condemned in his absence for ' obstinacy ' (*in contumaciam*). The pronouncement of sentence and punishment concluded the proceedings. The *orators* (*patroni*) played an important part in criminal proceedings. In particular it became customary for aspiring young men to obtain notoriety by prosecuting and defending persons of distinction, and thereby pave the way for themselves for public offices. Besides the orators competent friends of the accused (*advocati*) [1] often appeared before the court and interceded for him by the weight of their personality. As in Greece, it was quite permissible in Rome for the accused to work upon the feelings of the judges by lamentations, tears, mourning attire, and bringing their children and relatives with them.

The death penalty was rare under the Republic ; on the other hand, fines were frequent. Crucifixion was only permissible in the case of slaves and foreigners. It often became a common occurrence for the accused to give up his case before condemnation and to go into voluntary exile.

At the beginning of the *Imperial period* the old law of the city of Rome changed completely into a law of the Empire. The so-called *ius gentium* was

[1 The *advocati* could not speak for the defence ; this was left to the ' orator ' or pleader, who could argue the case in court.—TR.]

FIG. 136. EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS

This bronze equestrian statue, which admirably reproduces the aristocratic repose and seriousness of the Emperor, was set up by Michelangelo on the Capitol.

Rome, Capitol.

considered definitely as natural law. Nevertheless, the latest investigation has first shown that even in Imperial times the agreement was not so generally extensive as was formerly believed, that by the side of the law of the Empire in many places a real *ius gentium* survived.

If in the sphere of the judicial system the Empire also at first appears as conservative as possible it is easy to understand that herein the influence of the Emperor increased as time went on. He alone may act as sole judge, while the drawing up of the jury-lists is dependent upon him. He takes part in criminal jurisdiction with the Senate, so that in this department also the dualism of the *Imperial* government is clearly shown. By the side of Emperor and Senate the permanent courts (*quaestiones*) of Republican times stand as a third judicial party. It is easy to understand that the Emperors frequently decided personally in actions, especially those against their own officers and officials, or were represented in these by praefects of the city or praetorian guard (p. 304).

Civil jurisdiction, in which the Emperor represented only the supreme court of appeal, also henceforth belonged to the *praetor*. He appointed the jury, whose number varied with the importance of the cases, and conducted the suit.

In the provinces the *governors* were the administrators of judicial matters in the name of the Emperor ; occasionally a *iuridicus* (judge) was attached to them by the Emperor. In certain cases they were compelled to apply for confirmation to the Emperor, who otherwise only interfered in appeal cases. He held his meetings (*conventus*) annually, at which he pronounced judgment. He also frequently referred cases to subordinate officials. It is evident that in minor legal matters as well the *municipal magistrates* possessed the right of jurisdiction.

In the administration of justice in Imperial times a number of new penalties indicate an unpleasant development : banishment (*deportatio*) by the side of simple confinement in or exclusion from certain places (*relegatio*), which did not entail loss of civil rights ; sentence to work in the mines ; and the horrible condemnation to take part in gladiatorial or wild-beast combats in the amphitheatre, which became more and more common.

While the position of the *trained lawyer* (*advocatus*), whose maximum fee was fixed by the Emperor Claudius at 10,000 sesterces (£80–£85), lost its importance together with judicial oratory, the last authoritative phenomenon of ancient culture, *jurisprudence*, became more and more prominent (p. 125). If the mighty influence of ancient on modern culture can be perceived in all departments its effect in the province of Roman law has most obviously continued to the present day.

APPENDIX

ARCHITECTURAL AND OTHER TERMS

Abacus. A square stone slab forming the upper part of the capital of a Doric column.

Acanthus. Conventional ornament of the Corinthian and Composite (Roman) capitals, so called from its resemblance to the foliage of the acanthus (bear's-breech).

Acropolis. The citadel or fortified part of a Greek city, usually with a steep elevation in the centre. The term is specially applied to the citadel of Athens.

Acroterion. The summit of a pediment used as a support for statues or other ornaments; also the ornaments themselves or their extremities.

Agora. Originally meaning 'assembly,' the word came to be used for the market-place where the assemblies took place. It was an open space, square or quadrangular, surrounded by a colonnade, temples, or other public buildings (*cf.* the Roman Forum).

Amphiprostyle. Temple with a colonnade at both back and front (see temple of Athene Nike, Fig. 46).

Amphitheatre. A Roman building in which the arena was entirely surrounded by seats for the spectators (Fig. 36). It was unknown to the Greeks.

Antae. The prolonged ends of the side-walls of a temple with pilasters, which have two or more columns between them.

Anthemion. A flower or leaf-pattern (honeysuckle or palmette) with which the neck of a column was ornamented (*e.g.*, in the Erechtheion).

Arcade. A row of arches, supported on columns or pillars, generally open on one side and terminated on the other by a wall.

Arch. A construction of wedge-shaped stones covering an opening. The stones support each other by mutual pressure, and the whole is capable of supporting a heavy weight.

Architectonics. The systematic science of building. *Tectonics* is the art of the mechanical construction of buildings.

Architrave (or **epistyle**). The lowest member and chief beam of the entablature. In Doric it is plain, in Ionic and Corinthian divided into three bands.

Astragal(us). Small semicircular moulding (bead, ring) at the top or bottom of a column. It is sometimes plain, sometimes decorated, and used to separate individual horizontal members.

Attic(a). A low story above an entablature or cornice (*e.g.*, in Roman triumphal arches).

Barocco. Term applied to irregular pear-shaped pearls. It is especially used of the seventeenth-century Italian style of architecture, characterized by grotesque and excessive ornamentation.

Barrel-vault. See **Vault.**

Base. The foot or part of a column or pillar on which the shaft is placed. In Doric there is no base; in Ionic (Attic) it is circular, made up of convex or concave mouldings (see **Scotia, Torus**), and sometimes rests upon a square slab (plinth).

Basilica. Large building erected by the Romans for business or judicial purposes. It was usually oblong in form, divided into aisles (usually three) by rows of columns, and shut in by walls with apertures for admitting light. In a large semicircular

recess at the end of one of the narrow sides, containing a tribunal, the court of justice held its meetings.

Body-colour. Term applied to paints which possess body and consistence, as distinguished from washes ; colours mixed with white, whereby they are rendered opaque.

Capital. The part of a column between the shaft and the entablature. It consists of neck, echinus, and abacus.

Caryatides. Clothed female figures used in place of columns to support the entablature (as in the portico of the Caryatides in the Erechtheion).

Cella (*ναός*). The chamber in a temple containing the image and altar of a god.

Coffer. A sunk panel in a ceiling, vault, or wall.

Colonnade. A walk or gallery the roof of which is supported on columns placed at regular intervals.

Columbarium (' dove-cot '). A sepulchral chamber with a number of small niches or recesses in the walls, in which the ashes of the dead were kept in urns (*cf.* the practice in modern cremation.)

Column. A pillar; a vertical support for a superincumbent weight, sometimes also standing alone. Its three parts are base (except in Doric), shaft, and capital.

Compluvium. In a Roman dwelling-house a quadrangular open space in the roof which sloped inward, through which the rain fell into the impluvium, a basin or cistern in the floor beneath.

Composite order. A modification of the Corinthian order due to the Romans, containing elements from Doric, Etruscan, and Ionic, as well as Corinthian.

Console. A bracket or projecting member used to support a cornice.

Corbel (Fr. *corbeau*, raven). A beaklike projection of wood or stone supporting a superincumbent weight.

Corinthian. See **Orders.**

Cornice. A moulded horizontal projection that completes the entablature or other part of a building.

Corona. The lower member of the projecting part of a cornice, directly under the cymation.

Cross-vault. See **Vault.**

Cupola (dome). A hemispherical covering over round, quadrangular, or polygonal spaces.

Cyma (Gr. *κῦμα*, ' wave '). A wavelike convex or concave moulding above the cornice (also wrongly spelt ' sima ').

Cymation (Gr. *κυμάτιον*, ' little wave '). (1) = cyma. (2) The upper moulding of any of the parts of the entablature.

Dentils (or **dentels**). Small ornamental toothlike projections in the cornice of Ionic and Corinthian columns.

Dipteros. A temple or other building surrounded by a double row of columns (*e.g.*, the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, which has *three* rows of columns on the narrow side).

Distemper. See **Tempera.**

Drums. Cylindrical blocks of which the shaft of a column is composed.

Echinus (' sea-urchin '). The circular moulding (ovolo) which supports the square abacus slab in a Doric capital. In the Ionic order it is decorated with the egg-and-dart ornament. In form it is like the shell of an echinus, whence the name.

Egg-and-dart, egg-and-anchor, egg-and-tongue. Echinus mouldings carved with egg-shaped forms, with darts between each pair of eggs.

Encaustic. Painting by means of a wax medium, with which the colours are combined, and which is afterward burnt in with hot irons.

Entablature. The horizontal superstructure above the capital of a column. It consists of (from bottom to top) architrave, frieze, and cornice.

Entasis. A slight convex curve in the shaft of a column, intended to neutralize the optical illusion by which a shaft bounded by straight lines would otherwise appear to curve inward. See Fig. 95 in Smith's *Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ed. F. W. Cornish (1898).

Epistyle. See **Architrave.**

Exedra. In the Greek gymnasia a semicircular enlargement with seats, used for the discussions of learned men; in private houses (especially Roman) it was a place of meeting for sociable conversation.

Fascia. The horizontal bands by which the architrave is divided in Ionic and Corinthian columns.

Fillet. A small flat band or face used to separate mouldings.

Finial. A knob or ornament at the top of a spire or pinnacle (a term of Gothic architecture, but used in this work, p. 162).

Fluting. The small perpendicular hollows or channels in the shaft of a column: in the Doric order they are separated by a sharp ridge, in the other orders by a narrow fillet.

Foreshortening. In drawing or painting, a perspective effect in which a figure, or part of one, facing a spectator, although not seen in its entirety, gives the impression of its natural dimension.

Forum. In general, the market-place, among the Romans the centre of public life and business. As a rule, it was an oblong, rectangular space surrounded by temples, public buildings, and marts.

Fresco (It., 'fresh'). Painting on a fresh, moist plaster with watercolours, chiefly on walls and ceilings.

Frieze. The central division of the entablature, between the architrave and the cornice. It was generally ornamented with sculpture; hence the Greek name ζω(ο)φόρος, 'bearing figures.'

Frontality. In early Greek sculpture, the practice of representing the head and shoulders of figures full front while the rest of the body is in profile (see Fig. 55).

Gable. See **Pediment.**

Genre-painting. Representations of scenes and events of everyday life. Not possessing a definite character, such paintings are described as being of a certain *genre* (kind, class).

Guttae (Lat., 'drops'). Small conical-shaped ornaments under the triglyphs of a frieze.

Helix. A spiral volute or other ornament beneath the abacus of a Corinthian capital.

Herm(a). A pillar, diminishing toward the base, generally terminated with the head and neck of the god Hermes (Mercurius). Originally set up to mark boundaries, in later times it was much used for portraiture.

Hexastyle. A portico with six columns on the pediment side of a temple.

Hypaethral (Gr., 'in the open air'). A temple in which the central chamber of the cella had no roof, or, if it had, there was an opening in the middle to admit the light.

Hypocaust(um). Especially in Roman baths, a hollow space under the floor into which hot air was conducted from a furnace for heating the chamber; there were similar spaces in the walls to which the heat was conveyed by flues.

Hypostyle. A building in which the roof or ceiling is supported by pillars.

Hypotrachelion. A separating member (groove or channel) between the neck and shaft of a Doric column. Vitruvius explains it as the neck itself.

Impluvium. See **Compluvium.**

Intercolumniation. The space between two columns, usually measured from centre to centre of the shaft.

Isocephaly. The rule that all figures in relief, whether sitting, standing, or on horseback, should be represented as being of the same height.

Lintel. A block of wood or stone placed horizontally over an opening through a wall as a support to the weight upon it.

Meander. Any winding pattern, so called from the course of the river in Asia Minor. It is made up of lines not representing or suggesting anything in particular, which form angles or are sometimes interlaced.

Metope. Rectangular stone slabs, plain or ornamented with reliefs, which in Doric temples fill up the spaces between the triglyphs.

Modillion. Bracket-like projection under the corona of the cornice of the Corinthian and Composite orders.

Mosaic. Any drawing or painting on a plane surface formed by joining together pieces of hard, variously coloured substances, such as stone, burnt clay, or glass, which are united by cement.

Motive. The characteristic feature of an artistic composition which sets the artist's imagination 'in motion' and forms the nucleus of his creations.

Moulding. Various ornamental outlines given to the edges or surfaces of subordinate parts of buildings. They include the astragal, cyma, echinus, fillet, regula, scotia, trochilus.

Mutule. Projecting block under the corona of the Doric cornice, often having guttae on the under side (see **Modillion**).

Naos (*ναός*). See **Cella.**

Naumachia. (1) A gladiatorial sea-fight. (2) Natural or artificial sheets of water on which the same were held.

Nave. In the Roman basilica the central portion (*media porticus*) divided by rows of columns into aisles (*porticus*).

Neck. The lowest part of a Greek capital, of the same diameter as the upper part of the shaft, but separated from it by horizontal grooves or a fillet. The term is also applied to part of a vase.

Necking. (1) = neck. (2) A separating member between the neck of the column and the shaft.

Niche. Recess in a wall in which figures, vases, or ornaments were placed (see **Columbarium**).

Opisthodomos. The enclosed space behind the cella of a Greek temple.

Orders of architecture. The variations in the column and entablature in classical architecture. They are generally reckoned as five in number—Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite, the last two being really varieties of the first and third.

Ovolo. Convex moulding in the form of a quarter-circle ; it may either project or recede at the top. In the Ionic style it is generally decorated with the egg-and-dart.

Palmette. A form of ornamentation resembling palm-leaves, especially those of the fan-palms.

Pedestal. Substructure supporting a column or pillar. It generally consists (from the bottom upward) of the plinth (or socle), the block called the dado or die, and the cornice.

Pediment. Triangular termination at the ends of saddleback or lean-to roofs, above the portico in the front of a Greek temple. It corresponds more or less to a gable, but its upper angle is much less acute.

Peripteros. A building (especially a temple) surrounded by a single row of columns.

Peristyle. A colonnade round a square space ; hence the space itself.

Perspective. The art of representing objects as they appear to the eye from a given point of view, according to their form as well as their distance from the spectator and their colour.

Pilaster. A rectangular column or pillar, with a flat face, usually attached to a wall, from which it projects a third to a sixth of its breadth (see **Antae**).

Plinth. A square block or tablet forming the lowest member of the base of a column.

Podium. (1) A continuous basement for supporting a row of columns, differing from the pedestal, which only supports one column. (2) A wall surrounding the arena of an amphitheatre, on a platform above which were rows of seats for distinguished personages.

Portico. A roofed porch or vestibule, supported by columns on one side.

Pronaos. The vestibule in front of the cella of a temple.

Propylaea. An architecturally important entrance to a temple or other structure, which consisted of a gateway flanked by buildings. The term is specially applied to the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens.

Prostyle. A temple which has a range of columns only on one of the narrow sides.

Pseudodipteros. A temple in which the inner range of columns is omitted (see **Dipteros**).

Pseudoperipteros. A temple surrounded on the sides by columns not standing free, but projecting from the walls (see **Peripteros**).

Pteroma. The passage between the cella of a temple and the columns surrounding it.

Regula. A band or fillet, corresponding to a triglyph, beneath the taenia of the Doric architrave.

Relief. Raised work in sculpture, which makes the figures or ornaments project from their ground, although they do not appear completely round. According to the extent to which they project they are said to be in high, low, or middle relief.

Rococo. A debased style of decoration, prevalent in the eighteenth century.

Scotia (Gr., ' darkness '). A sunken or concave moulding between the fillets of the torus. It is so called from casting a dark shadow. Also known as **Trochilus.**

Scroll. Any spiral ornament ; the volute of a capital.

Shaft. The part between the capital and the base of a column.

Sima. A misspelling of cyma.

Socle (Lat. *socculus*, ' small shoe ' ; hence anything that serves as a support). A small pedestal on which busts, vases, or architectural decorations are placed.

Soffit. The underside of various parts or members of buildings (archways, cornices, entablatures).

Stele. A sepulchral monument or gravestone in the form of a narrow, slender stone slab tapering toward the top, with a gable-like termination, or surmounted by a flower-pattern. These monuments were also used for other purposes, such as marking boundaries and recording laws or decrees.

Stereobate. The substructure or basement of a building, especially of Greek temples.

Stoa. A portico or covered colonnade. The Stoa Poikile (adorned with frescoes by Polygnotus) at Athens gave its name to the Stoic school, since its founder Zeno taught there.

Stylize. Term used to express the employment of natural forms for artistic representation, not in complete truthfulness to nature with all the accidents of formation and

colouring, but traced back to their primitive forms; to adapt the natural to artistic conventions.

Stylobate. The upper step of the stereobate; or sometimes taken to include the whole member.

Taenia. The fillet or band separating the Doric frieze from the architrave.

Technique. Technical skill; the principles of the correct exercise of an art or craft; the practical, as opposed to the ideal, execution of a work of art, and the rules employed.

Tectonics. See **Architectonics.**

Tempera or **distemper.** A method of painting employed before the invention of that in oils, and still used for walls and scenery. The colours are ground with size, and mixed with white of egg, honey, or other binding substances.

Tetrastyle. A columnar structure with four columns on the gable-side.

Tholos. A dome or cupola. The term is specially applied to the great Mycenaean beehive graves; a general name for round buildings, such as the tholos at Epidaurus (Polycleitus).

Torus (Lat., 'bulge,' 'swelling'). A projecting convex moulding in the bases of columns.

Triglyphs (Gr., 'with three grooves'). In Doric architecture vertical blocks which, together with the metopes, form the frieze above the architrave. They are placed over the centre of the columns and the intercolumniations, and have the form of supports with three grooves separated by fillets.

Trochilus. See **Scotia.**

Tympanum. The recessed triangular space enclosed by the cornice of a pediment, generally richly ornamented with sculptures.

Vault. The covering of a space partly or entirely surrounded by walls. It is composed of wedge-shaped blocks or voussoirs, and has generally the form of a continued arch. Two kinds of vault were much in use in ancient times: the plain, semi-cylindrical *barrel*, and the *cross*, formed by the intersection of two or more simple vaults.

Volute. A spiral scroll, used as an ornament in Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite capitals.

Zophoros (Gr., 'bearing animals'). A frieze or zone in which figures of men or animals are introduced.

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INDEX

The more important references are indicated by heavier type. References to illustrations are given in italic type.

A libellis (office), 304
A rationibus (office), 304
Ab epistulis (office), 304
Abacus, 155, 233, *43*
Abdera, 108
Absolutism, 291, 303, 304
Academy, 111, **118,** 126, 255
Accius, L., 79
Achaean League, 73, 292
Achaeans, 22–24, 247, 280
Achilles, 21–24, 28, 47, 62; ideal portrait of, by Polycleitus, 189, *70*; on Attic vase, 211
Acragas (Agrigentum), 107, 247
Acropolis, at Athens, 52, 216, *2*, *26*, *45–46*; at Pergamon, 163
Acroterion, 156
Actors, 43, **51–54,** 79, 147, 261
Adonis festival, 71
Adoption, 257, 299, 306
Adriatic Sea, 249
Advocates, 62, 65, 82, 85, 102, 307; State, 309
Aedile, **300, 302,** 307
Aegaean Sea, 246, 279
Aegina, 67, 247, 269; temple of Aphaea at, 158, 177, *41*, *57*; currency of, 247
Aegis, 35, 182
Aegisthus, 45
Aeneas, 23, 78, 88, **90,** *6*; on relief of the Ara Pacis, 205, *87*
Aeolians, 39, 41, 251
Aerarium, 300, 306
Aeschines, 64, 67, **68**
Aeschylus, 43, **44,** 51, 98, 130
Aesop, 40, 98
Aethiopis (Epic Cycle), 28
Aetolian League, 292
Africa, 104, 249
Agamemnon, 22–24, 28, 32, 44
Agatharchus, 207
Agesander, 200
Agesilaus, 60
Ages of the world, 29, 38
Agonistic, **139,** 146, 255, 257
Agriculture, 33, 38, 245, 249, 280
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, 123, 169
Agrippina, 101
Ajax, Telamonian, 22, 23, 28, 29, 36, 47; Locrian, on Attic hydria, 30, ***6***
Alae (house), 230, *104*
Alba Longa, 90
Alban Mount, 144, 299, *49*
Alcaeus, **40,** 92
Alcibiades, 113
Alcinous, 24, 33, 34
Alexander the Great, 67, 68, 73, 100, 114, 123, 131, 139, 198, 218, 268; in romance, 73; Sarcophagus of, 194, *78*, *123*; Mosaic of, 195, 210, 226, *17*; portraits of, by Apelles, 208
Alexandria, 17, 68, 71, 104, 105, **122,** 126, 198, 248, 255, 279, 292
Allegory, 120, 130
Allies, Roman, 272, 293; Athenian, 288
Alphabet, 18
Altar, 34, 43, 52, 135, 274, *58*
Amazons, 28, 192, *73*
Ambassadors, 285, 289, 297
Ambrose, 105
Ambrosia, 30
Amiternum (Terni), 87
Amphictyons, 66, 141
Amphiprostyle temple, 154, 216, *42*, *46*
Amphitheatre, 146, 165, 167, *14*, *36*
Amphitrite, 41, 213, *8*
Amphora, 213, 235, *13*, *39*, *108*, *122*
Anacreon, 41
Anaxagoras, 47, **108,** 110
Anaximander, 106, 122
Anaximenes, 106
Ancestors, worship of, 127, 142; songs in praise of, 245; images of, 261, 294
Anchises, 90
Andocides, 63
Andromache, 22, 24, 28, 33, *6*
Andronicus, 162, 217
Andronitis, 229
Animal-baiting, 146, 309
Animal-worship, 127
Animals, domestic, 250
Animism, 127
Annales, 56, 76, 78; *maximi*, 77
Annalists, **81,** 89
Annona, 303
Antae, 154, *42*
Anthesteria, 260
Anthropomorphism, 128
Antidosis, 290
Antigone, 46
Antioch, 229, 292
Antiphon, 63
Antisthenes, 110, **115**
Antonius, M. (orator), 82, 85
Antonius, M. (triumvir), 83
Apelles, 208
Aphrodite, 22, 41, 177, 185, *58*
Aphrodite Anadyomene (Apelles), 208

Aphrodite of Cnidus, 194
Aphrodite with Companions, 185, *66*
Apocalypse, 103, 104
Apollo, 22, 23, 41, 45, 47, 127, 130, 136, 141, 143, 147, 190
Apollo Belvedere, 173, 194, *30*
Apollo Didymaeus, temple of, at Miletus, 158
Apollo and Marsyas, 198
Apollo of Tenea, 175, 190, *53*
Apollodorus (architect), 168, 222
Apollodorus (painter), 207
Apollonius (mathematician), 123
Apologetics, 104
Apotheosis of the Emperor, 131, 304
Apoxyomenos, 196, *79*
Appeal (in law), 298, 307
Appius Claudius Caecus, 77
Apuleius (? L.), 97, 132
Aqueducts, 171, 277, *130*
Ara Pacis Augustae, 166, 205, 224, *48*, *87*, *113*
Arabians, 122
Arbitrators, at Athens, 288 ; at Rome, 306
Archaic period (of sculpture), 173
Archelaus (of Macedon), 47
Archers, 35, 265, 272
Archias, A. Licinius, 85
Archilochus, **40,** 92
Archimedes, 123
Architecture, Greek, 154 ; Hellenistic, 162 ; Roman, 163
Architheoria, 290
Architrave, 155, *43*
Archives, 284, 285, 297, 300
Archon, 51, 285, **286**
Areiopagus, 45, 216, 283, 285, 287, 296
Argonauts, voyage of the, 20, 37
Arion, 41, 58
Aristarchus (of Samos), 122
Aristarchus (of Samothrace), 17, 126
Aristippus, 110, **116**
Aristocles, 176
Aristocracy, 32, 114, 280
Aristogeiton, 40, 179, *59*
Aristophanes (comic poet), **50**, 109, 251
Aristophanes (of Byzantion), 17, 126
Aristotle, 110, **113,** 122
Arithmetic, 254
Arms and armour, **35, 264, 271, 273**
Army, 35 ; Greek, **263** ; Hellenistic, 267 ; Roman, **270,** 297
Arpinum, 82
Arrian (Flavius Arrianus), **101,** 120
Arrows, 36
Ars Poetica of Horace, 92
Arsenals, 270
Artemis, 48, 49, 175 ; of Caryae, 187
Artemisia, 56, 161
Artemision, cape, 58
Artemision, temple, 161
Artillery, 265, **268,** 274
Arval brethren, 77, 145
Asclepius (Aesculapius), 124, 127, **134**
Asia Minor, 246, 251, 255, 259, 268
Aspasia, 251
Aspasius, gem of, 182
Astragal, 155, *44*
Astrology, 132
Astronomy, **122**
Astyanax, 22, *6*
Ateius, 213, *93*
Atheism, 60, 108, 110, 129
Athenaeum, 258
Athene, 22-26, 35, 47, 49, 179, 180, *6*, *8*, *61*, *63–64* ; Athene Nike, temple of, 160, *46* ; and Poseidon, 185 ; Athene group on frieze of the altar of Zeus at Pergamon, 200, *47* ; on vase, 213 ; ' old temple ' of, 216 ; temple of, at Priene, 218
Athenodorus, 200
Athens, 17, 19, 20, 50, 54, 62, 69, 71, 82, 176, 247, 248, 255, 258 ; status of, in Greece, 20, 247 ; drama at, 51 ; constitution of, 115, 282 ; Parthenon at, 158, 216, *26*, *65–66* ; Erechtheion, 159, 187, 216, *44–45*, *67* ; temple of Athene Nike in, 160, *46* ; Propylaea in, 160, 216 ; Acropolis (*2*, *45–46*), Areiopagus, Theatre of Dionysus, Lower City, Odeion, Cerameicus, Long Walls (*map*), Stadium, Stoa of Hadrian, and Theseion in, 217 ; dress in, 235 ; commerce in, 246 ; currency of, 247 ; industry in, 247 ; education in, 253, *120* ; burial in, 258 ; funeral feasts in, 260 ; military matters in, 263, 284, 287 ; fleet of, 269, 270, 284 ; legal procedure in, 288 ; finance in, 289
Atimia, 288
Atomic theory, 108
Atridae, 47
Atrium, 224, 226, 230, *104–105*
Attalus I (of Pergamon), 199
Attalus II (of Pergamon), 217
Atthidographers, 74
Atthis, 56
Attica, 165
Atticism, 102
Atticus, T. Pomponius, 86, 88
Augurs, 145, 304
Augusta Treverorum (Trèves), 96, 98, 258, *52*
Augustine, 104
Augustodunum (Autun), 258
Augustus (title), 304
Augustus (Emperor), 82, 88, 90, 95, 119, 123, 131, **143,** 219, 220, 223, 248, 306 ; statue of, from Prima Porta, 93, 205, *21* ; on the Gemma Augustea, 143, 214, *35* ; his buildings in Rome, 166 ; on the relief of the Ara Pacis, 205, 239, *87*
Aule, 34, 229
Aurelian (Emperor), 220
Ausonius, D. Magnus, 98
Auspices, 295, 298, 299
Autarkeia, 246
Automatic machines, 124
Auxiliaries (army), 272, *131*
Aventine, 219

Babrius, 40, 98
Bacchylides, 41
Baiae, 253
Ball-games, 176, 243, 250, 255, *31*, *56*
Ballads, 20, 41
Ballistae, 268

Banking, 248
Barbarian army (Hellenistic), 267
Barbarians, 32, 56, 68
Barberini Faun, 198, *82*
Barbers and barbers' shops, 237, 240, 245
Barley, 241, 243
Basileus (archon), 286
Basilica, 165, 220; of Maxentius and Constantine, 169, 223, *51*, *99*; Aemilia, 220; Julia, 220; Ulpia, 222
Baths, 34, 125, 165, 226, 231, 232, 243, 256
Battle, **36**, 266, 273
Beakers, 235, *118*
Beard, **237**, **240**
Beds, 34, 233
Belts, 35, 36
Betrothal, 251, 253
Bias (of Priene), 106
Bible, versions of, 105, 120
Biographies, 88, 99
Birds (in augury), 31, 136, 145
Black broth (Spartan), 281
Black Sea, 19, 29, 56, 95, 246, 279
Boarding-bridges, 269
Bodyguard, 277, 303
Boeotia, 38, 141; terracottas found in, 214–215
Books, 17, 18
Boots and shoes, 237, 240, 294
Booty, 275
Bosporus, 20, 246, 289
Botany, 114, 122
Boule, **283**
Bouleuterion, 156
Bow (weapon), 36
Boxing, 42, 139, *9*
Boy pulling out Thorn, 215, *95*
Boy strangling Goose, 198, *80*
Bracelet, 238, 275
Brazier, 234
Bread, 35, 242, 243
Bride, carrying off, 251; purchase of, 253
Britain, 123
Bronze, 29, 173; casting, 175
Brooch, 35
Brundisium (Brindisi), 90
Brutus, D. Junius, 85, 92
Bucolic (pastoral) poetry, **71**, **90**
Buglers, 270
Bulls' horns (symbol), 150; cult of, in Crete, 127, 150
Burdigala (Bordeaux), 96, 98, 258
Burial, 24, 127, 152, 258; clubs, 261; of an Emperor, 261; -places, **259**, **261**
Byzantion, 20, 246

Caecilia Metella, grave of, 166, 262, *49*
Caelius, Mount, 219
Caesar (title), 304
Caesar, C. Julius, 61, 80, 83, 84, **87**, 89, 123, 124, 131, 148, 220, 300, 302; portrait of, 87, 204, *20*; temple of, 220; army of, **271**
Calathos, 155
Calchas, 31
Calendar, 76, 96, 142, 145
Callimachus, **70**, 95
Callinus, 39
Calypso, 24
Cambyses, 58
Cameos, 214
Camillus, M. Furius, 271
Camp, **274**, *129*
Campania, 77, 97, 143, 146
Campus Martius, 146, 222, 223, 261, 295, 301
Canals, 277
Candelabra, 234, *107*
Candidate, 239, 298
Candles, 234
Canon (list of orators), 63
Cantharos, 235, *108*
Cantica, 79
Capital (of column), 154, *43*
Capitol, 146, 166, 222, *98*; equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on, 205, 308, *136*; temple of Jupiter on, 222
Capitoline Hill, 219, 222
Caracalla (Emperor), 293; Thermae of, 169, 223; bust of, 205, *86*
Caravan roads, 247
Carcer Mamertinus (Rome), 84, 166, 220
Carneades, 117
Carpenters, 265, 270, 272
Carthage, 73, 90, 96, 104, 248
Caryatides, 160, 187, *45*, *67*
Cassius (C. Cassius Longinus), 248
Castor and Pollux, 144; temple of, 220
Catapultae, 268
Cathedra, 233
Catiline, conspiracy of, 83, 84, 88
Cato, M. Porcius (censor), 78, **81**, 86, 88, 220
Cato, M. Porcius (of Utica), 84
Cattle-breeding, 33
Catullus, C. Valerius, 76, 88, **91**, 94
Cavalry, 264, 267, 268, 270, 273–277, 284
Cecrops, 216
Cella, 154, *41*
Cena, 243
Cena Trimalchionis, 97
Cenotaph, 258
Censor, 296, **301**
Centaurs, 127
Centuries, 270, 272, 295
Centurio, **273**, 274, 278
Ceos, 41, 108
Cephisodotus, 192, *72*
Cerameicus, 217
Ceramics, 213
Ceres, 144, 147; temple of, 302
Cestius, Gaius, grave of, 167
Chaeroneia, 63, 67, 99
Chairs, 34, 233
Chalcedon, 246
Chalcidice, 65, 113, 246
Chalcis, 114, 247, 248
'Chaldaeans,' 132
Chariot, 36; races, 139, 146
Charioteer of Delphi, 180, *32*, *62*
Charon, 103
Charonian stairs, 53
Charybdis, 25
Cheirotonia, 284
Chersonese, Thracian, 65, 66

Children, 243, **253, 254,** 257
Chiton, 35, 235, *110*
Chlaina, 35, 235
Chlamys, 235, *110*
Choral songs, lyric, 41, 43, 281 ; in tragedy, 43, 45, 48
Choregus, 51, 290
Chorography, 56, 58, 61, 74, 123
Chorus, 43, 51
Christianity, 116, 119, **121,** 132, **133,** 144 ; literature of, 103 ; persecutions of, 102, 134
Chrysippus, 116
Church Fathers, 104
Cicero, M. Tullius, 56, 69, 74, 75, 78, **82–87,** 99, 104, **118** ; portrait of, 83, 204, *19*
Cicero, Q. Tullius, 86
Cicones, 25
Cilicia, 83
Circe, 25
Circus, 165 ; Maximus, 146, 223 ; of Flaminius, 224 ; of Nero, 224
Cithara, 40
Cities, founding of, 56, 291 ; leagues of, 141 ; laying out of early Hellenistic, 162, *97* ; arms of, 214 ; of early Imperial period, 224, *102*
Civil law, 126, 306 ; rights, **293**
Classical scholarship, **126**
Claudius (Emperor), 99, 100, 101, 309
Clay, 232 ; vessels of, 149, 150, 210, 250
Clazomenae, sarcophagus-painting at, 211
Cleisthenes, 282, 283
Clement, 104
Cleon, 50, 288
Clerks—*see* Secretaries
Clients, 230, 242, 261
Clitias, 212
Cloacae, 219
Cloak, 35 ; see also *Paenula*, *Paludamentum*, *Sagum*
Clodia, 91
Clodius, P., 83
Clothing, **35,** 149, **235, 239,** *10, 16, 109–112*
Club—*see* Unions
Club (weapon), 35
Clytemnestra, 29, 44
Cnossus, 127, 149, *38*
Codices, 17
Coeducation, 256
Coemptio, 253
Cohors praetoria, 277
Cohorts, 271, 277
Coins and coinage, **214,** 247, 285, 290, 303, *27, 34, 116, 117*
Colonies, 19, 39, 56, 58, 247, 291, 304
Colonus, 45, 111
Colosseum, 167, 223, *36*
Columbaria, 165, 261
Column, 154, 168, *43*
Comedy, Old Attic, **49** ; New Attic, 48, **71,** 115 ; Roman, **78–81** ; in education, 256 ; in modern times, 72
Comitia, 77, 272, **295**
Communism, 112
Como, 102
Compluvium, 230, *105*
Concord, temple of, 220
Condiments, 241, 243
Confarreatio, 253
Confiscation, 288, 305
Constantine the Great, 134, 220, 278 ; Arch of, 169, 206, 223, *100*
Constitution, **32,** 114 ; Roman, 76, **293** ; Greek, **280** ; Hellenistic, 290
Consul, 272, **299,** 302
Contaminatio, 79, 80
Conubium, 253
Conventus, 308
Cookshops, 243
Copernicus, 122
Corcyra (Corfu), 29, 59, 247
Corinth, 46, 59, 73, 140, 242, 247, 269
Corinthian Order, 155, *43*
Corn—*see* Grain
Cornice, 155, *43*
Cornicines, 270
Coroneia, 60
Corporations—*see* Unions
Cos, 70, 124
Cosmetics, 239
Cosmopolitanism, 68, 119
Cothurnus, 54
Cotton, 236
Country-house, Roman, 231
Court life, 243, 251 ; ceremonial, 291 ; service, 292, 304
Courtesans, 71, 79, 94, 95, 242, 253
Crassus, L. Licinius (orator), 82, 85
Crater, 211, 235, 241, *91*
Cremation, 258, 261
Cresilas, 185
Crete, 41, **149,** 247, 272 ; relation of, to Egypt, 152 ; script in, 152
Creto-Mycenaean culture, 35, **149–154**
Criminal procedure, 306
Crito, 113
Critolaus, 117
Croesus, 58
Croton, 107, 247
Crowns, wreaths, 52, 141, 237, 285, 304 ; military, 275
Cuirass, 36, 264, 273
Cult, Greek, **31, 134–138** ; Roman, **144–146**
Cumae (Cyme), 90, 247
Cunaxa, 60
Curator, 304
Curia, 296
Curia Julia, 220, 296
Curse, 138, 145
Curtius Rufus, Q., 63, **100**
Curule chair, 261 ; offices, 298
Cyathos, 235
" Cyclopean " walls, 153
Cyclopes, 25, 29
Cylix, 235, *8, 114*
Cyma, 156
Cymation, 156
Cyme (in Asia Minor), 61
Cyme (Cumae), 90, 247
Cynics, 115
Cynthia, 95
Cypria (Epic Cycle), 28
Cyprus, 29, 115

Cyrene, 56, 111, 246
Cyrus the Elder, 58, 61
Cyrus the Younger, 60, 268
Cyzicus, 246

Daemonion, 109
Dalmatica, 240
Danaë, 41
Dancing and dancers, 41, 138, 145, 156, 253, 257
Danube, river, 277, 279
Daphnae, 229
Daphnis, 71
Dareius I, the Great (of Persia), 58, *13*
Decius (Emperor), 134
Decretum, 298
Decuria, 271
Decurio, 273
Dedicatory gifts, 138
Deinarchus, 64
Deiotarus, 85
Delia, 94
Delos, 141, 229, 242, 248
Delphi, 45, 58, 130, **137**, 141, 242
Demagogues, 32, 287
Demes, 264, 282
Demeter, 44, 129
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 124, 268
Demiurgi, 33, 282
Democracy, 114, 280
Democritus, 108, 117
Demodocus, 20, 25
Demons, 127, 142
Demosthenes, **64–68**, 114, 194, *16*
Dentil, 155, *43*
Deportatio, 309
Despotism (Hellenistic), 290
Deus ex machina, 47, 48, 53
Devotio, 145
Diacrii, 282
Diadochi, 68, 122, 131, 248, 268
Diadoumenos, 190
Dialects, 18, 20, 40, 56, 68
Dialogue, 43, 44, 61, 79, 112
Diana, 143
Diatribe, 115
Dicaearchus, 74
Dicasts, 50, 287, 288
Dice-playing, 241, 245
Dictator, 298, 302
Didactic poetry, 38, 106
Dido, 90, 95
Diocletian (Emperor), 134
Diodorus Siculus, 89
Diogenes the Cynic, 115
Diogenes the Stoic, 117
Diomedes, 22
Dionysia, 51, 286, 289
Dionysius the Elder (tyrant of Syracuse), 111
Dionysus, 41, 43, 49, 51, 52, 54, **129, 134**, 193, 212, *76*, *108* ; Theatre of, at Athens, 164, 216
Diophantus, 123
Dioscuri—*see* Castor and Pollux
Dipoenus, 175
Diptycha, 17
Dipylon Gate, 217
Dipylon vases, 211
Dirges, 41
Discipline (army), 274
Discobolos, 179, *60*
Discus, 139
Distich, 78
Dithyramb, 41, 43
Divan, 232
Divorce, 251, 252
Docks, 224, 270
Dodona, 127, 136
Domains, 32, 304
Domitian (Emperor), 97, 98, 99, 119, 223
Donatus, 126
Dorians, 138, 241, 254, 280 ; migration of, 19, 29, 38, 61, 153, 174
Doric order, 154, *41*, *43* ; buildings, 156 ; dress, 235, *110*
Dörpfeld, Wilhelm, 20, 153
Doryphoros, 189, 196, *70*
Double axe (symbol), 127, 150
Draco, 287, 288
Drama, **42–55**
Draughts, 245
Drawing, 256
Dreams, 58, 61, 127, 136
Drinking vessels, 235
Drinks, 244
Dualism, 107, 108
Duels (in battle), 37
Duris, 213
Dying Gaul, The, 199, *81*

Earrings, 238
Earth, shape of, 29, 122
East, the, 68, 106, 117, 131, 144, 235, 245, 291
Ecclesia, 282, 284
Ecclesiasterion, 218
Echinus, 154, *43*
Eclecticism, 118
Economic life, **246–250**
Ecphantus, 122
Ecstasy, religious, 121, 129
Edict, 306
Education, **253–258**, *23*, *120*
Egg-and-dart ornament, 155, *44*
Egypt, 17, 29, 56, 74, 111, 127, **131**, 134, 136, 152, 242, 248, 249, 293
Eirene, 192, *72*
Ekkyklema, 53
Elatea, 67
Elea (Velia), 107
Eleatics, 107, 111
Election, 298
Electra, 44, 47, 48
Elegy, Greek, 39, 70 ; Roman, 94
Eleusis, 44, 134 ; mysteries at, 129, **134**
Eleven, the (officials), 286
Elgin Marbles, 185
Embroidery, 236
Empedocles, 107
Emperor, Roman, **302** ; cult of the, 131, 143, 144
Emporion in Athens, 286
Encaustic, 210
'Enlightenment,' 32, 47, 78, 108, 115, 130, 143
Ennius, Q., 28, **78**, 94, 143, 272
Entablature, 155

Entasis, 154
Enthroned Goddess, 177, *1*
Epameinondas, 266
Epeisodion, 43
Ephebi, **255**
Ephesus, 40, 54, 107, 170, 292
Ephetae, 287
Ephors, 281
Ephorus, 61
Epic Cycle, 28
Epicharmus, 49
Epictetus, 103, 119
Epicureans, 117
Epicurus, 89, 110, **117**, 134
Epidaurus, 134; theatre at, 53, *14*
Epigram, Greek, **40, 70**; Roman, 77, **97**
Epimeletae, 285
Epinikia, 41, 42
Epistates, 284
Epistyle, 156, *43*
Epitaph—*see* Epigram
Epithalamia, 40
Epode, 92
Eponymus, 286
Epos, Greek, **20–38**; Roman, 78, **89–91**
Eratosthenes, 123
Erechtheion, 159, 187, 216, *43, 44, 45, 67*
Eretria, 247
Ergotimus, 212
Erinyes—*see* Eumenides
Eros (Platonic), 112
Eros of Thespiae, 127
Esquiline Hill, 219; Gate, 261
Eteocles, 47
Ethics, 109, 115, 116
Etruria, Attic vases found in, 211
Etruscans, 77, 143, 144, 145, 224, 234, 249, 250
Euboea, 114, 246, 247
Euclid, 123
Euhemerus, 130
Eumaeus, 25, 32, 33
Eumenes II (of Pergamon), 163, 200; Colonnade of, 216, *2*
Eumenides, 45, 47
Eupatridae, 282
Euphrates, river, 61, 279
Euphronius, 213, *8*
Euripides, 43, **47**, 51, 78, 98, 194, *11*
Eurycleia, 25, 26, 32
Eurydice, 189, *110*
Euthytona, 268
Evander, 91
Evans, Sir Arthur J., 149
Exedra, 228, 230, *104*
Exekias, 213
Exomis, 235
Exports, 289

Fabius Pictor, Q., 81
Fable, 40, **98**
Fabri, 272
Fabula Atellana, 77, **81**; *crepidata*, 78; *palliata*, 79; *praetextata*, 78; *togata*, 79, **81**
'Face-vases,' 153
Factiones, 146
Factories, 242, 248
Fallen Warrior (Aegina temple pediment), 177
Family, Greek, 33, 250; Roman, 251
Fan, 238
Fasti, 96
Fate (Moira), 31
Fauces (in Roman house), 230
Federal states, 292
Festivals, 255, 285, 290, 297; of the gods, 31, 42, 51, **138–141, 146–148**, 286
Fetish, 127, 150
Finance, Greek, **289**; Hellenistic, **292**; Roman, **304**
Fines, 285, 289
Fire-brigade, 277, 304
Fireplace, 234
Fiscus, 306
Fish, 35, 241, 243, 244
Flamen, 145
Fleet, 37, **268, 279**
Flora, 147
Flute, 41, 79, 139, 141, 254, *58, 114*
Flutings, Doric and Ionic, 154, *43*
Food, 35; *see also* Meals
Foot-races, 139, 156
Formianum, 231
Forts on the *Limes*, 172
Forum, at Cambodunum (Slack, Yorkshire), 172; *boarium*, 219; Romanum, 219, *98, 135*; Augusti, Caesaris, Trajani, 222
Forum Julii (Fréjus), 279
François vase, 211, *91*
Freedmen, 294
'Friends' of the ruler, 291, 304
Fruit, 241, 243
Funeral games, 27, 146; orations, 62, 77, 261; banquets, 260, 261; processions, 260
Furniture, 34, **232**

Gable—*see* Pediment
Gaea (on frieze of altar of Zeus at Pergamon), 200, *47*
Gaius (jurist), 125
Galatea, 71
Gallia, 87, 170, 171; Citerior, 88
Games, 27, **139–141, 146–148**
Gardens, 33, 88, 230, 232
Geison, 155
Gems, 214; gem of Aspasius, 182
Geography, 29, **123**
Geometrical style in art, 174, *122*
Geometry, 123, 257
Geomori, 282
Germans, 278; on Trajan's Column, 207, *88*
Germany, 98
Gerousia, 281
Giants, 128; on frieze of altar of Zeus at Pergamon, 200, *47*
Girl with a Cap, 190, *71*
Gladiators, 146, 226, 309
Glass, 248, 250; industry on the Rhine, 215, *96*
Gods, Greek, **127–134**; Roman, **142–144**; in Homer, 30–32, 58; in Hesiod, 38; in Aeschylus and Sophocles, 45; in Aristophanes, 50; in Herodotus, 58; in Thucydides, 60; in philosophy, 107; Epicurus and, 89; images of, 128; on coins, 214, *27, 34, 116, 117*

Golden House of Nero, 167
Gorgias, **62, 108,** 113
Gorgon (on Selinus metope), 176, *53*
Gortyn, 125
Gospels, 103
Government, forms of, 114
Gracchi, the, 82, 249, 305
Grain, 246, 248, 278, 300, 304
Grammar, 122, 126
Grammarians, 17, 19, **126**
Grammaticus, 257
Grammatistes, 254
Graphe paranomon, 67, 285
Graves, 152, 165, 227, **259,** *68, 124–125* ; soldiers', 207, *128* ; sepulchral monuments, 261 ; grave-reliefs (stelae), 176, 188, 251, 265 ; embellishment of, **259**
Greaves, 36, 264, 273
Gurnia, stirrup-vase from, 153, *40*
Gymnasiarch, 256
Gymnasiarchia, 290
Gymnasium and gymnastics, 156, 231, 232, **255,** 257, 281
Gynaeconitis, 229

Hadrian (Emperor), 137, 217, 222, 231, 240, 258 ; Mole of, **169,** 224, 262, *124*
Hair, mode of wearing, 236, 237, 240
Halicarnassus, 56
Handicraftsmen, 33, 235, 237, 242, 250, 287, 294
Harbours, 249, 270
Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 40, 179, *59*
Haruspices, 145
Hastati, 271, 273
Hats, 237 ; see also *Petasos*, *Pilos*
Heating (of house), 234
Hecataeus, 56, 123
Hecatomb, 31, 138
Hecatompedon, 216
Hector, 22–24, 28, 33
Hecuba, 22–24, 33
Hedonists, 116
Helen, 22, 24, 28, 58
Heliastae—see Dicasts
Helicon, 38
Heliopolis, temple of Jupiter at, 170 ; temple of Zeus at, 170
Helius, 25
Hellanicus, 56
Hellenism, **68,** 141, 143, 146, 147, 228, 229, 232, 233, 241, 242, 248, 255, 256, **267,** 270, **290** ; language of, 68 ; literature of, **69–74** ; sculpture of, 198 ; buildings of, 162, 224
Hellespont, 20, 58, 246
Helmet, 36, 264, 273
Helots, 280
Hephaestus, 23, 217
Hera, 23, 175 ; temple of, at Olympia, 156, 193, *76* ; temple of, at Samos, 158
Heracleitus, **107,** 111
Heracles, 47, 51, 108 ; in art, 35, 180, 195, 197
Herald, 33, 35, 265, 285, 287
Herculaneum Gate (Pompeii), 261
Hercules, 143
Hermes, 24, 25, 26, 47, 189, 197, *76, 110*
Hero (of Alexandria), 124
Herodotus, 18, 21, 45, **56,** 123, 130
Heroes, **20,** 28, 44, 134
Herondas, 71
Hesiod, **38,** 106, 107, 128, 130 ; read in schools, 255
Hexameters, 20, 26, 78
Hieronymus—*see* Jerome
Himation, 235, 240, *10*
Hipparchi (cavalry commanders), 287
Hipparchus (astronomer), 123
Hipparchus (tyrant), 41, 179
Hippias, 108
Hippocrates, 124
Hippodamus, 162, 217
Hippolytus, 48
Hipponax, 40
Hirtius, 87
Historiography, Greek, **56–61, 73, 99** ; Roman, 81, **87–89, 98–100**
Homer, **18,** 78, 107, 122, 126, 136, 228 ; world of, **29–38** ; read in schools, 28, 255 ; portrait of, 198, *3*
Homo novus, 82, 294
Honours, public, 299, 305 ; military, 275
Hoplites, 37, **264,** *125*
Hoplomachia, 255
Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), 69, 78, **92–94,** 115
Horns (musical instruments), 265, 273
Horse-racing, 139
Horses (on Parthenon frieze), 184, *65*
Hortensian Law, 295
Hortensius, Q., 82, 85
Hospitality, 32, 285
House, **33, 228**
Humanism, the new, 119
Hunting scenes (on Cretan wall-paintings), 150
Hut (old dwelling), 228, 229
Hydria, 235
Hygiene, 125, 149, 231, 256
Hylozoism, 107
Hymns, Greek, 41 ; Roman, 92 ; Christian, 105
Hypaethral temple, 154
Hypereides, 64
Hypocaustum, 165, 234
Hypomosia (in law), 285

Iambic poetry, 40 ; trimeter, 40, 43
Iambus, **40** ; choliambus (halting iambus), 40, 71, 98
Ibycus, 41
Ichneutae, 47
Ictinus, 158
Ideal State, 112
Idealism, 111, 113
Ideas, theory of, 111
Ides (calendar), 296
Idylls, **71**
Ientaculum, 242
Igel, column at, 171
Iliad, 20, **22–24,** 29, 91
Iliupersis (Epic Cycle), 29, *6*

Imagines, 77, 230, 294, *111*
Immortality, 111, 113
Imperator, 276, 302
Imperial period, 96, 147, 228, 243, 245, 253, 257, 276, 302, 305, 307
Impenum, 272, 298, 299, 300, 302
Impluvium, 230, *104–105*
Imports, 33, 246, 248, 289
India, 249
Individualism, 39, 109
Indo-Germanic languages, 18, 75; peoples, 144, 228, 282
Industry, 242, 245, 248, 250, 280
Infantry, **264, 270**
Inns, 242, 243
Inscriptions, 17, 18, 19; *see also* Epigram
Intercessio—see Veto
Interrex, 298
Ionia and Ionians, 19, 20, 29, 37, 39, 44, 56, 58, 62, 68, 73, 106, 122, 128, 141, 250, 254
Ionic architecture, 154; order, 155, *43*; buildings, 158; art, 189
Iphicrates, 267
Iphigeneia, 28, 48, 49
Iron, 29; as money, 280
Isaeus, 63, 65
Isis, 131, 144
Isocephaly, 176
Isocrates, 61, **63**, 73
Isotelia, 64, 282, 285
Isthmian games, 140
Italians, 248, 271, 304
Ithaca (Thiaki), 24, 25, 29
Iuridicus, 308
Ivory, 233, 249, 254

Janiculum, 224, 295
Janus, 142; temple (chapel) of, 144, 220
Jason, 48
Jerome, 105
Jerusalem, 99, 167
Jesus, 103, **120**
Jews, 98, 99, 120
Josephus, Flavius, 99
Jugurtha, 88
Julia (daughter of Titus), 204, 238, *112*
Julian (Emperor), 121
Jumping, 139, 257
Juno, 90, 142; Moneta, temple of, 222
Jupiter, 90, 142, 144; Capitolinus, temple of, 144, 166, 222; temple of, at Heliopolis, 170; column of, at Mainz, 207
Jurisprudence, 125, 309
Jury-court, 242, 288, 300, 307
Justinian (Emperor), 126
Juvenal (D. Junius Juvenalis), **97**

Kalends, 76, 296
Kamáres amphora from Phaestus, 152, *39*
King, in Homer, 32; Hellenistic, 267, 290; Spartan, 281; Roman, 298; title of nobles in Homeric times, 32; title of archon, 286
Kline, 233, *114*
Knights, Athenian, 50, 282; Roman (*equites*), 144, 239, 249, 294, 305, 307
Kore (Caryatid), 160, 187

Labyrinth, 127, 149
Laconia, 280
Laconism, 281
Lactantius, 104
Laelius, C., 86
Laestrygones, 25
Laius, 46
Lamps, 214, 233, *107*; ornaments on, 234
Lances, 36, 264, 275
Landscape-painting, 210
Language. (1) Greek, **18**, 75; in epos, 20, 26; of Pindar, 42; of tragedy, 43, 44; of Aristophanes, 50; of Herodotus, 56, 58; of Thucydides, 60; of Xenophon, 61; of Gorgias, 62; of Isocrates, 63; of Lysias, 64; of Demosthenes, 67; of the Gospels, 103; of Plato, 112. (2) Hellenistic, 69, 74. (3) Latin, colloquial, **75**; of Ennius, 78; of Plautus, 79; of Cicero, 87; of Caesar, 87; of Sallust, 88; of Livy, 89, 101; of Lucretius, 89; of Virgil, 91; of Horace, 94; of Propertius, 95; of Seneca, 97, 101; of Tacitus, 99; of Quintilian, 101
Laocoön group, 198, 200, *83*
Lar, 142, 230
Latin festival, 299
Latin rights (*ius Latinum*), 293
Latinus, 91
Laurel, 127, 137, 141, 276, 304
Lawsuits, 50, 62, 65, 67, 68, **287–289, 306, 307**
Laying out of the dead, 258, *122*
Lectisternia, 146
Lecythus, 213, 235, 258, 259, *92*
Legatus, **272**, 304
Legion, 270, 271, 276
Leitourgia, 51, 285, 290
Lemnos, 47
Lemures, 142
Lenaea, 51
Leochares, **194**
Lesbia, 91
Lesbos, 40; poetesses of, 40, 251
Lessing, G. E., 200
Letters, of Cicero, 86; of Horace, 92; of Pliny, 102; of Paul, 104
Libation, 31
Libraries, 17, 126, 231
Libya, 29
Lictors, 272, 299
Life, daily, Greek, **240**; Roman, **242**
Light-armed troops, **264**, 268, 273, 277
Lighting, 233
Limes, 172, *129*
Linen, 235, 239, 248, 249
Literary language, Greek, 18, 56, 58, 62; Hellenistic, 68; Roman, 75, 76
Litterator, 257
Little Iliad (Epic Cycle), 29
Lituus, 273
Livia, house of, on Palatine, 166
Livia, portrait of, 204, *85*
Livius Andronicus, 78
Livy (Titus Livius), 63, 74, **88**, 101, 142
Lochagos, 264
Lochos, 263
Lodging-houses, 229

Logic, 109, 114
Logographos, chronicler, **56**; speech-writer, 62, 64, 65
Logos, 120
Lotophagi, 25, 29
Lotus pattern, 211
Love-poems, 40, 41, 91, 94
Lucian, 102
Lucilius, C., 93
Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus), 89
Lucullus, L., 231
Ludi saeculares—*see* Secular games
Lugdunum (Lyons), 96
Luperci, 145
Lustrum, 301
Luxury, 228, 232, 233, 243
Lycambes, 40
Lyceum, 114, 255
Lycurgus (legendary legislator), 280
Lycurgus (orator), 63, 217
Lydia, 58
Lyre, 39, 254; playing and players, 139, 141, 254, *120*
Lyric poetry, Greek, **39–42**; Roman, **91**; choral song, 41
Lysias, 63, **64**
Lysicrates, 217; Monument of, 162, *43*
Lysippus, **195**

Macedonia, 65, 68, 246, 248
Macedonian phalanx, 267
Macedonian War, Third, 73, 89
Macellum, 244
Maecenas, C. Cilnius, 82, 90, 92
Maenads, on black-figured vases, 212, *108*
Magic, 132, 138
Magister equitum, 298, 302
Magistracies and magistrates, Roman, **298**
Magna Graecia, 56, 77, 81, 106, 111, 247; amphora factories in, 213
Magna Mater, 144, 147
Majority (coming of age), 258, 284
Manes, 142
Manipulus, 271
Maps, 122, 123
Marathon, 58
Marble, 173; Parian, 173, 177; Pentelic, 183
Marcellus, M. Claudius, 90; Theatre of, 224
Marcus Aurelius (Emperor), 119; equestrian statue of, 205, 308, *136*; Column of, 169, 206
Mardonius, 58
Marius, C., 82, 271
Market, 240, 266, 286, 300; taxes, 292, 305
Marriage, **251**, 253, *119*
Mars, 77, 142, 145; on relief of Ara Pacis, 205, *87*
Marsyas, 198
Martial (M. Valerius Martialis), 76, **97**
Martial law, 302
Marts, 246–248
Masks, 44, 54, 55, *18*
Massilia (Marseilles), 123, 247, 258
Mathematics, **123**
Matronalia, 252
Mausoleum, at Halicarnassus, 161, 192; of Augustus, 166, 169, 224, 262
Mausolus, 161, 259
Maxentius, Basilica of, 169, *51*, *99*
Meals, **35**, **240**; Spartan, 240, 281; Roman, 242
Meander (pattern), 156, *122*
Meat, 35, 241, 243, 244
Mechanics, 124
Medea, 48, 58, 95, *12*; in Roman wall-paintings, 210
Medicine, 124
Mediolanum (Milan), 258
Mediterranean Sea, 19, 84, 279
Megara, 39, 49, 64, 246, 269
Melian vases, 211
Melic poetry, 40
Memnon, 28
Memorial banquets, 260, 261
Menander, 48, **71**, 80, *18*
Menelaus, 22–24
Mercenaries, 60, **267**
Messenian Wars, 39
Metal industry, 248, 264
Metals, precious, 233, 237, 248
Metamorphoses (of Ovid), 95
Metanastae, 32
Metoeci, 64, 248, 282, 289
Metopes, 155, *43*; at Selinus, 176, *55*; at Olympia, 180, *109*
Metroön, 285
Miletus, 44, 56, 106, 162, 246
Mill, 244, *115*
Milo, T. Annius, 85, 147
Miltiades, 59
Mimiambi, 71
Mimnermus, 39
Mimus, 81
Minerva, 142, 143
Mines, 59, 289
Minoan culture, 149
Minos, 41, 127, 149
Mirrors, 238
Misenum, 279
Mithras, 132, 134, 144, 171, 172, *29*
Mnesarete, tomb of, 187, *68*
Monarchy, 114, 280
Money, 280; *see also* Banking
Monotheism, 107
Mora (army unit), 263
Morality, 79, 96, 131, 143, 148, 251, 301; in Homer, 28, 32; in Hesiod, 38; in Solon, 39; in Pindar, 41; in comedy, 50, 71, 81; the Seven Wise Men and, 106; of the Sophists, 108; of Socrates, 110; of the Stoics, 116, 118
Morra (game), 242
Mosaic, 210
Mosella, 98
Mourning women, 258, 261
Mulsum, 243
Municipal boards, 308
Munychia, 270
Murena, L., 84
Muses, the, 38
Museum at Alexandria, 126
Music, 40, 41, 55, 139, 256, 257, 263, 281
Musical instruments, 254

Mycenae (and Mycenaean age), 20, 33, 36, **152** ; Lion Gate of, 150, 152, *37* ; Treasury of Atreus at, 152
Myron, 179
Myrtle crown, 276, 283, 286
Mysteries, 129, 131, 134
Mysticism, **134**
Mytilene, 40, 56, 106

Naevius, Gnaeus, 78
Names, 18, **293**
Nations, law of, 307
Natural philosophers, Ionic, **106**
Nature, in Homer, 27 ; in Sappho, 41 ; in Theocritus, 70 ; in Lucretius, 89 ; in Virgil, 90
Naucrariae, 269
Naucratis, 246
Naumachia, 146
Nausicaa, 24, 28
Naval battles, 37, 269
Naval league (Attic), 20, 59
Navigation, **37**
Neapolis, 247
Necklace, 35, 238
Nectar, 30
Nemean games, 140
Nemesis (female name), 94
Neo-Platonism, 104, **120**
Neoptolemus, 29, 47, 49, *6*
Nepos, Cornelius, 88
Nereids, 23, 41, 189
Nero (Emperor), 97, 101, 134, 148
Nerva (Emperor), 98
Nestor, 23, 24, 62
Nicias, 51, 59
Nicosthenes, 213
Nike (on the statue of Athene), 182, *64*
Nike, temple of, at Athens, 187, 216, *46* ; on altar of Zeus at Pergamon, 200
Nike of Paeonius, 189, *69*
Nike of Samothrace, 204, *84*
Nike undoing her Sandal, 187
Niobe, 193, *75*
Nobles, 29, 32, 42, 249, 280, 282, 294
Nomenclator, 245
Nomothetae, 287
Nostoi (Epic Cycle), 29
Nota censoria, 301
Nous (mind), 108, 112, 120
Novels, 74
Novus homo, 82, 294
Numa, 142
Numantia, 73, 93
Numidian cavalry, 272

Oath, 31, 138, 283, 286, 299
Obol, 258, 264
Odeion, 216
Odes, 92
Odysseus, **22–26**, 28, 32, 33, 34, 47, 62, *4*
Odyssey, 21, **24–26**, 29, 37, 91 ; Esquiline wall-paintings of, 209, *90*
Oedipus, 29
Oedipus at Colonus, 46
Oedipus, King, 46
Offices, legal age for, 82, 298
Officials, 281, 283, 292, 298
Ogygia, 24, 25
Oil, 241, 244, 246, 248
Oligarchy, 114, 280
Olympia, 60, 242 ; temple of Zeus at, 180, 183 ; temple of Hera at, 193, *76*
Olympian games, 140
Olympus, 31
Olynthus, 66
Omens—*see* Signs
Opisthodomos, 154, 229
Optimates (political party), 294
Oracles, 58, 61, 124, **136**
Orators' platform, 206, 220, 285, *98*, *135*
Orators' wreath, 237
Orbilius, 92
Orchestra (in theatre), 43, **52**, 55
Orders (architectural), 154
Orders (decorations), 275
Orestes, 44, 49
Origen, 104, 105
Ornament in dress, 35, 237, 238
Orpheus, 20 ; in relief, 189, *110*
Orphics, 107, 129, **134**
Ostia, 231, 249
Ostium, 230
Ostracism, 285
Ostrakon, 17, 285, *134*
Ovatio, 276
Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso), 38, 63, 70, **95**

Pacuvius, M., 79
Paean, 41, 266
Paedagogos, 254, *120*
Paedonomos, 256
Paenula, 240
Paeonius, 189
Painting, Greek, 207 ; Roman, 210
Palace-buildings, at Tiryns, 34, *7* ; at Cnossus, 149–151, *38* ; at Rome, 220
' Palace-style vases,' 152
Palaestrae, 255
Palatine Hill, 219, 222
Palla, 240, *111*
Pallium, 239
Palm-leaf pattern, 156, 211, *44*
Palmyra, 249
Paludamentum, 272
Pan (the god), 127
Panaetius, 86, **118**
Panathenaea, 28, 139, 264, 289 ; on Parthenon frieze, 184, *65*
Pancratium, 139
Pandora, 38 ; on base of Athene statue, 183
Pantheism, 107, 118
Pantheon, 168, 224, *50*
Pantomimes, 55
Papinian, 125
Papyrus, 17 ; finds, 17, 71, 103, 115, 125
Parali, 282
Parasites, 80, 241
Parchment, 17
Paris (Alexandrus), 22, 28, 29
Paris, judgment of, depicted in Roman wall-paintings, 210, *89*
Parks, 229

Parmenides, 107
Paros, 40, 246
Parrhasius, 208
Parthenia, 41, 78
Parthenon, 158, 216, *26*; sculptures of, 183; frieze of, 183, *65*; pediment of, 185, *66*
Pasiteles, 204
Pasture-cultivation, 245, 249
Patavium (Padua), 88
Pater patriae, 304
Patria potestas, 251, 253
Patricians, 293
Patroclus, 23, 24, 27, 90
Patronus, 307
Paul, 104, 119
Paulus, Aemilius, 73
Pausanias, 74
Pay, of army, 264, 275, 278; of Greek officials, 287, 288; of Hellenistic officials, 293
Peasant's house, 228
Peculium, 245
Pediaei, 282
Pediment (gable), 156
Peisistratus, 19, 28, 43, 51, 140
Peloponnesian War, 50, 59, 61, 255, 264, 288
Peltasts, **265**
Penates, 142
Penelope, 24–26, 33, 34
Pentathlum, 139
Penthesileia, 28
Peplos, 35, 236
Pergamon, 17, 69, 126, 162, **163**, 170, 199, 270; Athene group at, 200, *47*; altar of Zeus at, 163, 200; school of artists at, 198
Periacti, 53, 55
Pericles, 45, 56, 59, 62, 108, 251, 288; portrait of, by Cresilas, 283, *133*
Periochae (of Livy), 89
Perioeci, 263, 280
Peripatetics, 74, 114, 122, 255
Peripteros, 154
Peristyle, 224, 229, 230, *104*
Persephone, 129
Perseus killing Medusa, 176, *55*
Persian 'rubbish-heap' at Athens, 174, 176, 216; statue of a girl from, 174, *54*
Persians and Persian Wars, 20, 44, 56, 58, 235, 237
Persius, Aulus, 97
Pessimism, 99, 134
Pessinus, 136
Petasos, 237, *110*
Petronius, 97
Phaeacians, 24, 25, 29
Phaedo, 113
Phaedra, 48, 95
Phaedrus, 98
Phaestus, 149, *39*
Phalanx, 266, 267
Phalerae, 275
Phalerum, 270
Pharaohs, tradition of, 290
Pharsalus, 83, 87
Pheidias, **181**; *Athene Parthenos* of, 173, 182, *64*; *Athene* (?) *Lemnia* of, 182, *63*; *Athene Promachos* of, 182; his statue of Zeus at Olympia, 183; Parthenon sculpture of, 183, *65*
Phemius, 20
Phiale, 235
Phiditia, 281
Philip I (of Macedon), 61, 65, 66, 114, 137, 267
Philippi, 92
Philo, 120
Philocrates, Peace of, 66, 68
Philoctetes, 29, 47, 49
Philolaus, 122
Philosophy, 72, 86, **106–121, 130**, 134, 135, 143, 253, 255, 258
Philoxenus, 210
Phocian War, 65, 66
Phoenicia and Phoenicians, 18, 29, 33, 37, 247
Phratriae, 282
Phrynichus, 44
Phylarchi, 287
Phyle—see Tribe
Physicians, 33, **124**, 242, 265
Picture-galleries, 231
Pietism, 116
Pilos, 237
Pilum, 271, **273**
Pindar, **41**, 130
Pioneers (*fabri*), 272
Piraeus, 229, 270
Pirates, 84, 279
Piscinae, 244
Pittacus, 106
Plantations, 249
Plataea, 58
Plato, 28, 61, 62, 100, 108, **111–113**, 118, 123, 130, 242
Plautus, T. Maccius, 71, **79**
Plebeians, 249, 253, 293, 294, 295, 296, 301, 307
Plebiscite, 295
Pliny the Elder, 102
Pliny the Younger, 102
Plotinus, 120
Plutarch, 99
Pnyx, 216, 284
Poetics (of Aristotle), 114
Polemarch, 263, 286
Police, 286, 302
Polybius, **73**, 118
Polychromy, 154
Polycleitus, 181, **189**; canon of, 121, 189; *Doryphoros* of, 189; *Diadoumenos* of, 190
Polycrates, 41, 58
Polydorus, 200
Polyeuctus, 194
Polygnotus, 207
Polyneices, 47
Polyphemus, 24, 25, 33, 71
Pomona, 142
Pompeii, 102, 125, **224**, 231; wall-paintings at, 41, 210, *89*; plan of, 225, *101–102*; forum, temple of Jupiter, meat-market, market-place of, 225; amphitheatre, private houses, thermae of, 226
Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus), 55, 83, 84, 220, 279
Pontifex maximus, 76, 144, 220, 304
Pontifices, 76, **144**

Popular assemblies, 32, 62 ; in Sparta, **281** ; in Athens, 282, **284** ; Hellenistic, 291 ; in Rome, **295**
Populares (political party), 294
Porta Nigra, at Trèves, 171, *52*
Porta praetoria (at Regensburg), 172
Portents—*see* Signs
Portraiture, Roman, 204, *85*
Poseidon, 23, 24, 41, 67, 140, 159, 160
Poseidonius, 74, 118
Potestas, 298
Potidaea, 59, 110
Poultry, 244
Praefectus, 273 ; *fabrum*, 273 ; *castrorum*, 277 ; *praetorio, vigilum*, 277, 304 ; *morum*, 303 ; *Aegypti, annonae, urbi*, 304
Praetexta, 239
Praetor, 272, 299, **300, 306**
Praetorian guard, 277, 304, 308, *131*
Praetorium, 274
Prandium, 243
Praxiteles, **193** ; *Hermes* of, 193, *76* ; *Aphrodite of Cnidus* of, 194, *77*
Prayer, **138, 145**
Priam, 22, 24, 33, *6*
Priene, 106, 162, **217**, 229, *97, 103*
Priests, Greek, 31, 130, **135**, 137 ; Roman, 76, 142, **144** ; Egyptian, 136
Primipilus, 273
Princeps (the Emperor), 302
Princeps senatus, 297, 302
Principes (troops), 271, 273
Priscian, 126
Private house, Greek, 156, 228 ; Roman, 229
Private life, **228**
Probouleuma, 283
Probus (Emperor), 220
Processions, 49, 55, 77, 138, 145
Proconsulate, 299
Procurator, 304
Prodicus, 108
Prologue (drama), 43, 48, 79
Prometheus, 44
Propertius, Sextus, **94**
Prophecy, 31, 58, 136, 145
Propontis, 246
Propraetor, 299
Propylaea, at Athens, 160, 216
Proscenium, 52
Prose, artistic, 62, 73
Prostas (house), 229, *103*
Prostyle temple, 154, *42*
Protagoras, 62, 108, **109**
Provinces, 271, 272, 277, 293, 297, 303, 305, 308 ; buildings in, **170–172**
Provocatio—*see* Appeal (in law)
Proxenia, 285
Prytaneion, 285
Prytanies, 284
Psephisma, 285
Ptolemies, the, 69, 70, 122, 131, 248
Ptolemy (astronomer), 122
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 70, 122, 217
Publicani, 305
Punic Wars, 73, 78, 81, 89, 143, 252, 279, 302
Punishments, **288**, 293, 307, 309 ; military, 274, 275
Purification, 145, 260, 301
Purple, 239, 249, 291
Pylos, 24, 59
Pyrrho, 117
Pyrrhus, 77, 268
Pythagoras, **106**, 134
Pythagoreans, 122, 123
Pytheas, 123
Pythia (priestess), 137
Pythian games, 140

Quaestiones—*see* Jury-court
Quaestor, **272**, 300
Quaestorium, 274
Queens, Hellenistic, 251
Quinquatrus, 257
Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus), 76, **101**
Quirinal, 219
Quirinus, 142

Races, chariot, 42, **139, 146** ; on François vase, 212
Raft (of Odysseus), 38
Raging Maenad, 194, *74*
Rationalism, 60, 109, 130
Ravenna, 279
Recitationes, 17, 140, 256
Recuperatores, 306
Regalia, 292
Regatta, 139
Regia (castle), 144, 220
Relegatio, 309
Reliefs, Greek, 176, 184 ; Roman, 204, 206
Religion, Greek, 30, 116, 117, 119, 121, **127–141** ; Roman, **142–148** ; and the State, 134, 276, 285, 286, 289, 290, 295, 297 ; and art, 154, 170, 173, 182, 193, 197, 200
Rhapsodists, 20
Rhetoric, **61**, 62, 73, **82**, 85, 97, 101, **102**, 114, 258
Rhine, river, 279 ; as frontier, 277
Rhodes, 69, 82, 118, 124, 198, 247, 248, 258, 270, 292 ; wine-jugs of, 211
Rhyton, 235
Riddles, 241
Riding, 36 ; youths on the Parthenon frieze, 185, *65*
Rings, 237, 240
River-gods, 127
Roma (goddess), 144, 223
Romance, 70, 74
Romance languages, 75
Rome, 17, 82, 89, 90, 94, 96, 101, 117 ff., 125, 142 ff., 164, 166, 204 ff., 218 ff. ; Campus Martius at, 146, 220, 223 ; temples at, 164, 223 ; arches in, 165, 167, 220, *22, 100* ; basilicas of, 165, 169, 220, 222, *51, 99* ; thermae at, 165, 169, 223 ; Ara Pacis Augustae at, 166, 205, *48, 87, 113* ; Mausoleum of Augustus in, 166, 224 ; Pantheon in, 168, 224, *50* ; geographical situation of, 218 ; Forum Romanum at, 219, **220**, *98* ; harbour district of, 219 ; regions of (four- and fourteen-region city), 219 ; Septimontium,

219; Servian city, 219; Subura (district of), 219; *urbs quadrata*, 219; *curia* of, 220; Imperial fora in, 220; *Via Sacra* at, 220; Capitol of, 222, *98*; Circus Maximus in, 223; Colosseum in, 223, *36*; dwelling-houses in, 230; furniture in, 232; clothing in, 239; domestic life in, 242; agriculture in, 249; commerce of, 249; economic conditions of, 249; industries of, 249; family life in, 251; army of, 270; constitution of, 293; finance of, 304; law of, 306
Roscius (of Ameria), 84
Roscius (actor), 55, 79
Rostra—see Orators' platform
Round, sculptures in the, 174

Sacrifice, **31,** 37, 127, 128, 136, **138, 145,** 266
Sagum, 240, 273
Salamis (in Cyprus), 270
Salamis, island, 44, 45, 58, 269
Salii, 77, 145; *Carmen Saliare*, 77
Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus), 84, 87, 123
Salutatio, 242
Samnite Wars, 271
Samos, 40, 56, 58, 106, 117, 175
Sandals, 35, 240
Sappho, 40
Sarcophagi, 259, *123*; paintings on, 211
Sarissa, 195, 267
Satire, 93, 97
Saturn, 142; temple of, at Rome, 144, 220, 300, 305
Saturnalia, 97, 145, 243, 257
Saturnian verse, **77,** 78
Satyric drama, 43, 47, 51
Satyrs, 43, 127
Scepticism, 117
Schliemann, H., 20, 149
Scholia, 18
Schools, **256, 257,** *120*
Science, 72, 115, **121–125**
Scillus, 60
Scipio Africanus the Younger, 73, 80, 93, 118
Scipio, Lucius, epitaph on, 77
Scolia, 40
Scopas, 192; his work on the Artemision, 161; his sculptures for the Athene temple at Tegea, 192; his sculptures for the east frieze of the Mausoleum, 192–193, *73*
Scrutiny (*dokimasia*), 283, 286
Sculpture, Greek, **172–204**; severe style in Greek, 178; climax of Greek, 181; Roman, **204–207**
Scylla, 25
Scyllis, 175
Scyphos, 235
Scythians, 58
Sea-trade, 249
Seal-rings, 237, 238
Seats, 34, 232, *15*
Secretaries, 284
Secular games, 92, 143
Seers, 31, 33, **136,** 265
Senate, 77, **296, 297**; dress of members of, 294; senatorial order, 296; sittings of, 296
Senatus auctoritas, 297; *consultum*, 297
Seneca, L. Annaeus, 76, 97, **101, 119**
Septimius Severus, 223; triumphal arch of, 169, 220
Serapis, 131, *28*
Services, public—see *Leitourgia*
Servius Tullius, 219; wall of, 219; constitution of, 270
Sestius, P., 85
Seven against Thebes, The, 20, 29, 44, 47
Seven Wise Men, the, 106
Shield, 36, 264, 273; of Achilles, 23, 27
Ship, 37, **269, 279**
Sibyl, 90
Sibylline Books, 143, 145
Sicily, 29, 41, 44, 60, 62, 83, 90, 246, 247; Athenian expedition to, 51
Siege operations, 124, 265, 268, 274
Sigillata bowl of Ateius, 213
Signallers, 265
Signs, 31, **136, 145**
Silk, 236, 239
Silphium, 241, 246
Silver, 232, 247; beaker of, found at Hildesheim, 250, *118*; mines at Laureion, 289
'Silver' age of Latinity, 101
Simile, 27, 29
Simonides, 40, **41**
Sinope, 246
Sirens, 25
Sitophylakes, 286
Slave-markets, 242
Slaves, **32,** 55, 72, 78, 80, 135, 147, **242, 245,** 249, 250, 254, 257, 264, 271, 280, 282, 288, 289, 293, 305, 307; risings of, 245
Slingers, 265, 272
Smiths, 265, 272
Societies—*see* Unions
Socrates, 50, 61, **109,** 115, 129, *24*
Soldiers' pay, 275, 278
Solon, 17, 19, **39,** 58, 64, 106, 247, 264, 283, 287
Solonian classes, 282
Sophists, 47, 59, **108, 109,** 113, 130, 255; as teachers, 108
Sophocles, 43, **45,** 56, 98; portrait-statue of, 46, 194, *10*
Sosii (Roman booksellers), 17
Soul, 111, 113, 114, 118, **120, 127,** 130, 142; transmigration of, 107, 112, 130
Spain, 76, 96, 97, 101
Sparta, warlike poems and music of, 39, 281; mode of wearing hair in, 237; *autarkeia* of, 246; economic conditions in, 246; colonization by, 247; marriage in, 251; women of, 251, 281; education in, 253, 280; army of, 263; constitution of, 280; ephors in, 281; *gerousia* of, 281; popular assembly in, 281; kings of, 281
Spartiatae, 263, 280
Speeches, classes and arrangement of, 62, 85; in Homer, 28, 62; in Herodotus, 58; in Thucydides, 62; in Livy, 89; in Curtius, 101; in law-courts, 62
Sphinx, 46
Spinning, 33
Sport, 27, 42, **139,** 281

Stabiae, 224
Stadium, 156, 218 ; in Athens, 217
Staff, 35
Stage, 52, 55
Standards (military), 172, 271, 274, *131*
Stasimon, 43
State treasury, 144, 284
Stele, 259 ; from Sunion, 141, *33*
Stesichorus, 41
Stick, 238
Stilus, 17
Stoa of Hadrian, 217
Stoics, 68, 97, **115**, 116, **118**, 119, 121, 126, 130
Stola, 240
Stone-throwers, 265
Stones, precious, 240
Strabo, 123
Strategos, 264, **287**
Strategy, 266
Streets, 156, 231
Streets of Graves (Pompeii), 227
Stylobate, 155
Styx, 31
Subjectivism, 39, 109
Subura, 219
Suetonius, C. Tranquillus, 99
Suffectus, 299
' Suggestion ' (medical), 124, 136
Sulla, L. Cornelius, 82, 84, 148, 224, 248, 300, 302
Sulmo, 95
Sulpicia, 94
Sun-worship, 132
Sunshade, 238
Suovetaurilia, 145
Superstition, 32, 107, 128, **132**, 136, 138
Suppliants, 33
Supplicatio, 145
Sword, 36, 273
Sybaris, 247
Sycophants, 289
' Sympathy ' (medical), 124
Symposium, 61, 113, 241, 244
Syncretism, 131
Synegori, 62, 287
Syntax, Greek, 18
Syracuse, 49, 59, 62, 111, 123, 124, 247, 269 ; coin of, 247, *117*
Syria, 290
Syrians, 245, 248, 249, 272
Syrinx, 71, 254
Syssitia, 263

TABLE, 34, 233
Table-ware, 214
Tablinum, 230
Tabularium, 220
Tacitus, P. Cornelius, 75, **98**, 102
Tactics, 271
Tarentum, 49, 77, 78, 247, 257
Tarpeian Rock, 222, 301
Tarquin, 143
Taxes, 286, **289**, 290, 292, 293, **305, 306**
Taxiarch, 264, 287
Teachers, 254, *120*
Technical arts, **123**
Teiresias, 25, 47
Telemachus, 24, 25, 33
Teleology, 108, 114
Tempera, 208
Temple, 31, 127, 135, 138, 143, 144, 220, 222, 284, 286 ; Greek, **154** ; styles of, 154, *42* ; wooden column in, 158 ; Roman, **164** ; temple-statues, 172, 173 ; money-chests of, 290
Ten Thousand, Retreat of the, 60
Terence (P. Terentius Afer), 71, **80**, 261
Terminology, scientific, 121 ; grammatical, 126
Terracottas, 214, *94–95*
Terra sigillata, 213, 235
Tertullian, 104
Testudo (military), 268, 273
Tetralogy, 51
Thales, 106
Thasos, 246
Theatre, **52–55**, 156, **164**, *14*
Thebes, 41, 46, 61, 67
Themistocles, 62, 217, 270
Theocritus, **70**
Theodosius (Emperor), 134
Theognis, 39 ; read in schools, 255
Theogony, 38
Theophrastus, 114
Theoricon, 52, 66, 289
Thermae, 165, 243 ; of Caracalla, 169, 223 ; at Cambodunum, 172 ; at Pompeii, 226
Thermopylae, 58, 141
Thersites, 22, 32
Theseion, 217, *43*
Theseus, 41, 46, 149, 213, 216, *8*
Thesmothetae, 286
Thespis, 43
Thessaly, 20, 246
Thetes, 32, 282
Thetis, 23
Thoas, 49
Tholos, 284
Thrace, 59, 129, 246, 268
Thrasybulus, 64
Throne, succession to, Hellenistic, 291 ; Roman, 304
Thucydides, **58**, 61, 88
Thurii, 56, 64
Thymele, 52
Tiber, river, 91, 218 ; wharf on bank of, 224
Tiberius (Emperor), 98, 220, 223 ; shown on the Gemma Augustea, 214, *35*
Tibullus, Albius, 94
Tibur (Tivoli), 92
Timanthes, 208
Timgad, 170
Tiryns, 34, 153, *7*
Tisias, 62, 64
Tissaphernes, 60
Titans, 128
Titus, Arch of, 167, 205, 223, *22*
Toga, 239
Tomi, 95
Torches, 233
Torques, 199, 275, *81*
Torture, 288
Tower of the Winds, 162, 217

Town-house, 230
Trabea, 239
Trade, 33, **246, 249,** 250, 280, 294
Tragedy, Greek, 19, **43–49,** 78 ; Roman, **78, 79, 97** ; modern, 49, 97
Trajan, 55, 98, 102, 147, 168, 303 ; Column of, 206, 222, *88*, *131–132*
Trajaneum at Pergamon, 170
Trans Tiberim (district), 220
Treasure of Priam, 153
Treasure-houses, 34
Treasurer, 286
Treasury of Atreus, 152
Triarii, **271,** 273
Tribe, 51, 264, 282
Tribunal, 274, 306
Tribunes, military, 272, 300 ; of the people, **301** ; authority of, 303
Tributum, 305
Triclinium, 233, 243
Trierarchy, 290
Triglyph, 155, *43*
Trilogy, 44
Tripod, 52, 162
Trireme, **269, 270**
Triumph, 77, 148, 239, 276
Triumphal arches, **165** ; of Titus, 167, *22* ; of Septimius Severus, 169, 220 ; of Augustus, 220 ; of Tiberius, 220 ; of Constantine, 223, *100*
Triumvirate, 83
Trochaic tetrameter, 43
Trochee, 40
Trojan War, 20, 22
Trophy, 266
Troy, 20, 153
Trumpet, 254, 265
Tuba, 273
Tubicines, 270
Tullianum, 166
Tunica, 239, *112*
Turmae, 271
Tusculanum, 86. 231
Twelve Tables, Law of the, 76, 125, 257
Tympanum, 156, *43*
Tyrannicides, the, 40, 179, *59*
Tyrannis, 280
Tyrrhenian Sea, 249
Tyrtaeus, **39,** 64

Ulpian, 125
Umbria, 94
Underworld, 25, 26, 90, 138
Unions, 55, 107, 111, 146, 147, 248, 250, 255, 261
Universities, 255, 258

Valour, prizes for, 275
Vaphio, gold beakers from, 151
Varro, M. Terentius, 126
Vas diatretum, 215, *96*
Vase-painting, **210** ; black-figured, 211 ; Creto-Mycenaean, 211 ; geometrical style of, 211 ; red-figured, 212 ; fourth-century, 213 ; Hellenistic, 213
Vases, **210** ; from Crete, 151 ; Dipylon, 211, *122* ; of *terra sigillata*, 213 ; *vasa murrina*, 235
Vault-construction, 162, 163, 164
Vegetables, 241, 243, 249
Vegetarianism, 35, 241
Veii, 271
Veils, 35, 240, *110*
Venus, 90, 173, 223
Venus of Milo, 199
Venusia, 92
Verona, 91
Verres, C., 84
Vespasian, temple of, 220
Vessels (utensils), **234**
Vesta, 142, 145 ; temple of, at Rome, 220
Vestal Virgins, 145
Vestibulum, 230
Vesuvius, 102
Veterans, 278
Veto, 301
Via Appia, 77, 219, 223, 261
Via Triumphalis, 223
Vigiles, 277
Villa, 231
Viminal, 219
Virgil (P. Virgilius Maro), 28, 71, 76, **89,** 142
Volutes, 155, *43*
Voting, 295, 297 ; pebbles for, 285, 289
Votive offerings, 138, 261
Vow, 138
Vulcan, 142

Wall-paintings, from Pompeii, 210
Warfare, 266
Watch (military), 266, 274
Wax masks—see *Imagines*
Weaving, 248, 250, 253
Wells, 166, 218
Wigs, 240
Wine, 35, 235, 241, 243, **244,** 248, 249, 252, 281
Women, 33, **250,** 251, 252
Wool, 239, 249
World, view of, in Homer, 30 ; in Hesiod, 38 ; in Aeschylus, 45 ; in Sophocles, 45 ; in Herodotus, 58 ; in Thucydides, 60 ; in the New Comedy, 71 ; in Horace, 94 ; in Tacitus, 99 ; in philosophy, 106–121
Wrestling, 139, 257
Writing, 18

Xenia, 97
Xenophanes, **107,** 130
Xenophon, **60,** 87, 108, 123, 265
Xerxes, 58
Xoana, 173

Zeno the Eleatic, 107
Zeno the Stoic, 110, 115
Zeugitae, 282
Zeus, 22, 23, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 127, 130, 136, 140, *27* ; on coin of Elis, 130 ; temple of, at Athens, 162, 170, 217 ; temple of, at Olympia, 180, 182, 183 ; altar of, at Pergamon, 200
Zeuxis, 208
Zoology, 114, 122
Zophoros (frieze), 155, *43*

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